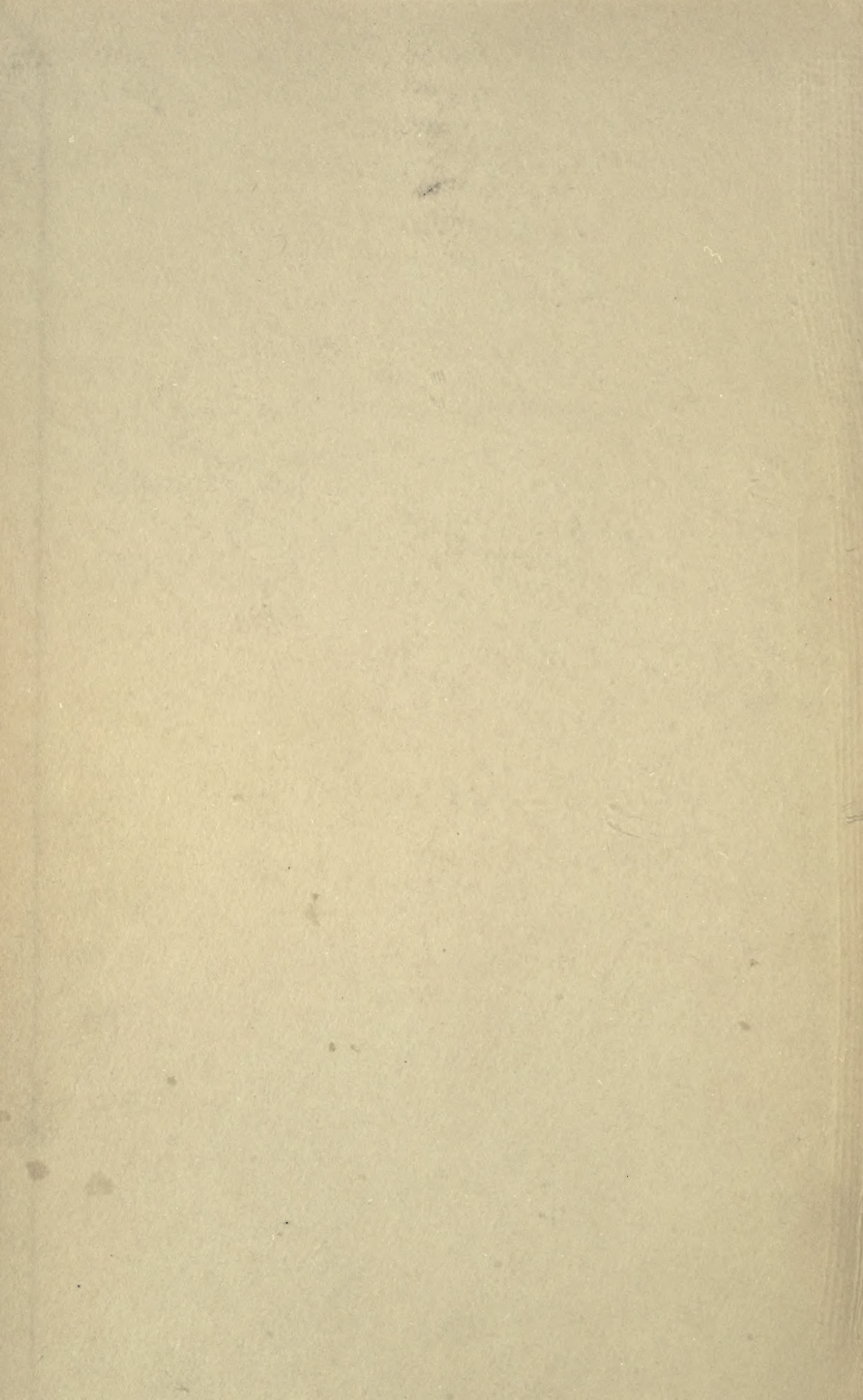


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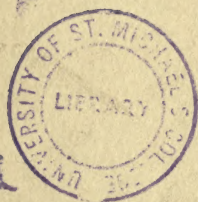



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HISTORY OF THE
LATIN-AMERICAN NATIONS

HISTORY OF THE LATIN-AMERICAN NATIONS

BY

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HISTORY OF THE
LATIN-AMERICAN NATIONS

WILLIAM R. RORERTSON

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PREFACE

The purpose of this book is to outline the chief events in the history of Latin America or, as it is sometimes called, Hispanic America. As a preliminary I have described the physical features and the aborigines of those portions of the New World which were colonized by Spaniards and Portuguese—factors which have had a permanent influence upon the life of Latin-American peoples. The chief events include a description of the conditions in Spain and Portugal which affected the colonial enterprises of those nations; a survey of the romantic era of discovery and conquest; a sketch of the penetration of Spaniards and Portuguese into the American wilderness; an account of administration and society under the old régime; and the story of the separation of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies from their motherlands. These events also include a survey of the development of the Latin-American nations from the achievement of independence to the present time with an account of their political parties, constitutional history, and existing governments; a description of their international disputes and their economic development; a survey of their economic, social, and intellectual conditions upon the eve of the World War; and a sketch of their progress from the close of that titanic conflict to the present. In addition, the book contains a discussion of common problems and ideals of the Latin-American nations; and a description of the relations of those nations with England and with other European powers and with the United States.

Although there has been in recent decades an appreciable increase of the literature in English dealing with Latin-American politics, problems, and history, yet at the present moment there is not in any language a book which surveys the history of the Latin-American peoples from the Age of the Incas to the Present Day and which considers each of those peoples since the winning of independence as a distinct polit-

ical entity constituting a nation. This is the mode in which I have chosen to write the "History of the Latin-American Nations." Some resemblances exist between the Latin-American nations, yet there are many differences—differences which are potential in determining their destinies. In composing this book, I have aimed to present such facts and tendencies as might enable the reader to understand the present conditions and problems of Latin-American nations. Emphasis has necessarily been laid upon political and constitutional changes, yet economic and international developments have not been neglected.

During recent years there has been a steady increase in the interest taken by citizens of the United States in the history and politics of the other independent nations of the New World. A portion of the reading public has evinced a keen interest in the present condition and the future prospect of those nations which sprang from the colonies of Spain and Portugal. Courses in the history of Latin America are now being given in colleges and universities from New York to California. To paraphrase the words of a co-worker who is giving such a course in a state university, no other important field of history is in such dire need of an adequate textbook as is the Latin-American. It is out of my investigations as a student and my experience as a teacher that this book has taken its present form. I have aimed to write a book that would be instructive to the general reader who desired a survey of Latin-American history and that might also be used as a text for college and university classes in the history of Latin America.

In the composition of this book I have been confronted with certain problems which other writers would perhaps have solved in a manner different from that in which I have solved them. Instead of appending a formal bibliography, I decided to furnish for each chapter a list of the best references for further reading which might serve as a guide to other works—particularly in English—containing material upon important topics discussed in the respective chapter. Those references, like the references to bibliographical aids, have been prepared in the hope that they may prove of special service to teachers. To aid students and teachers in the comprehen-

sion of territorial changes, I have prepared from the best available data a number of maps to elucidate the text. In addition, I have given references to other maps which, when available, will illustrate the history of the Latin-American nations. Although I have striven to write a fair and accurate history, yet I do not expect to have avoided all the pitfalls of error which beset a writer who ventures into paths that are more or less untrodden.

I am grateful to various persons for aid in the collection of material for this book. To Latin-American friends I am indebted for information about special phases of history and for pamphlets concerning particular events. To the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness; for through Professor John B. Clark it has considerably allowed me to utilize in the last chapter of this volume some general impressions which I acquired as the result of my investigation under its direction of relations between the United States and Latin-American nations. I am under obligations to members of the staff of the University of Illinois Library because of their constant courtesy and helpfulness to me in the use of the valuable collection of Latin-American books in that Library. My wife has read the entire manuscript carefully and has aided me in reading the proof.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

URBANA, ILLINOIS

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HISTORY OF THE LATIN-AMERICAN NATIONS

CHAPTER I

THE ENVIRONMENT

“Latin America” Defined.—The term “Latin America” signifies those regions of the New World which were colonized by emigrants from the Latin nations of Europe. In a sense it might be taken to mean the countries which were settled by people from France, Portugal, and Spain. It might include New France and Haiti, as well as Brazil and Spanish America. In a narrower sense, however, Latin America signifies simply those sections of the Americas that were colonized by wayward children of the Iberian Peninsula. That is the sense in which the term “Latin America” will be used in this book. When we speak of the Latin-American nations or of the Hispanic-American nations—as some scholars prefer to designate them—we mean those independent nations of the New World which developed from settlements that were planted by Spaniards and Portuguese.

Factors in the Environment.—The history of Latin America constitutes a part of the long epic of human life. A story of the introduction of European man into the Americas, it deals partly with his adaptation to conditions different from those which existed in the Old World. The purpose of this chapter is therefore to describe the environment in the New World which affected emigrants from Spain and Portugal. That environment was composed of two factors—the land and its inhabitants.

The Approachability of America.—America is more approachable from Asia than from Europe. The north Atlantic, across which some early voyagers made their way,

is the stormiest ocean in the world. Its currents and winds are often contrary to vessels sailing from European ports. Once the Americas are reached, however, they are more accessible from the eastern than from the western side.

North and South America.—As regards form and climate South America is one of the southern group of continents. It belongs with Africa and Australia which have their widest parts near the equator. Yet the South American continent bears some resemblance to North America. Both North and South America are triangular in form. In the northeast both continents have an area of ancient rocks. North America has Labrador, while South America has the plateau of Guiana. To the east there are plateaus of old rocks in both continents: the northern continent has the Appalachian Mountains; and the southern continent has the mountainous plateau of Brazil. Along the western side of each continent are found a series of complex, rugged mountain chains, which are skirted by a coastal plain that in South America is extremely narrow. Between the mountainous masses of the east and those of the west are vast plains that stretch from north to south. Through those plains flow several great rivers that are bordered by alluvial lowlands.

Contrasts between North and South America.—Although there is a similarity between the physiography of North and South America, yet they are not equally suited for the abode of civilized man. This is partly due to differences in the ocean currents that affect large sections of the two continents. In latitudes corresponding to those where North America is laved by warm seas from the equator and the Mexican Gulf, South America is bathed by icy streams from the Antarctic region. Northeastern South America is lapped by equatorial currents, while that part of North America is bathed by icy seas from the northern oceans. Great rivers in South America mostly flow through regions that are fundamentally different from those through which flow the corresponding rivers of North America. The western mountain range of South America is much more rugged; its peaks are much higher than those of the sister continent.





From Tarr & McMurry's New Geographies (used by permission of Macmillan Co., Publishers)
PHYSICAL MAP OF SOUTH AMERICA,

Chief Physiographic Provinces of South America.—The chief physiographic provinces of South America may be considered as follows: (1) the Atlantic Coastal Plain; (2) the Brazilian Highlands; (3) the Highlands of Guiana; (4) the Basin of the Orinoco River; (5) the Basin of the Magdalena; (6) the Amazonian Basin; (7) the Basin of la Plata River; (8) the Patagonian Plains; (9) the Cordilleras; (10) the Great Plateaus; and (11) the Pacific Coastal Plain.

The Atlantic Coastal Plain.—The Atlantic Coastal Plain of South America is not large. A very narrow plain borders the Caribbean Sea and, in disconnected strips, extends south from the mouth of the Amazon. The extreme eastern portion of that plain is subject to terrible droughts. At the beautiful Bay of Rio de Janeiro a rocky mountain range almost reaches the ocean. Near la Plata River the coastal plain merges into the pampas, and then, after encircling a spacious harbor at Bahía Blanca, it skirts the Patagonian plains.

Brazilian Highlands.—Large stretches of the eastern coast have a heavy rainfall that sometimes exceeds forty inches a year. Mostly covered with luxuriant vegetation, a considerable portion of the interior of Brazil is a tableland which is occasionally separated from the sea by a mountain fringe. To the north and the south the plateaus sink into great river valleys. These highlands—with lofty peaks that reach about ten thousand feet above sea level—stretch from the interior of the present state of Uruguay almost to the Amazon River. They contain the mineral deposits of Uruguay and Brazil.

Highlands of Guiana.—Between the basins of the Amazon and the Orinoco rivers lie the Highlands of Guiana. A few of their highest peaks rise to about eleven thousand feet above sea level. The northern slopes of this plateau have a heavy rainfall from the northeast trade winds, while its southern slopes are almost arid. Here and there throughout this irregular region gold is found in paying quantities.

Basin of the Orinoco River.—The northern slopes of the Guianan Highlands gradually merge into the llanos.

These are plains where trees, swamps, and lagoons are ordinarily found along the watercourses, and where tropical grasses are flooded in rainy seasons and parched in dry seasons. The llanos sink into the alluvial plains of the Orinoco basin which are nowhere much more than eight hundred feet above sea level. In the islands of the Orinoco delta the vegetation is most luxuriant. Dense forests, tufted grasses, and shifting sand dunes vary the physiography of this basin. Its most important mineral deposit is asphalt. With the aid of the trade winds, vessels can sail far up the sweltering Orinoco River. As its branches join the Amazon's tributaries, it furnishes an entrance into the vast interior of South America.

Basin of the Magdalena River.—Of the great rivers of South America one of the least important is the Magdalena. Still it is navigable with steamboats at a distance of some five hundred miles from the sandbars at its mouth. Its valley and the valleys of its tributaries form a tropical physiographic province. The Magdalena River drains the beautiful Cauca Valley and—by a winding channel that often overflows its banks—furnishes an approach to the plateau of Bogotá. Islands, lagoons, and swamps make its lower course resemble portions of the Amazon Valley.

Amazonian Basin.—The Amazon is the largest stream in the world. The basin of that vast river system includes about two-fifths of the South American continent. With many side channels that cut the lowlands into islands, the Amazon River flows through dense forests and luxuriant savannas—large portions of which are often submerged. After receiving the waters of more than a dozen great tributaries, it empties into the Atlantic at the equator. Ocean tides sweep up its main channel for several hundred miles. Its branches, particularly on the north, form a veritable network connecting with the adjacent river systems, especially in flood time. Still, a hot, humid, and enervating climate has prevented the Amazon Valley from becoming the chief gateway into the continent.

Basin of la Plata.—La Plata River is a very spacious but shallow estuary which is formed by the junction of the Uruguay and the Paraná Rivers. The Paraná River, with

tributaries which are navigable for hundreds of miles, reaches to the Brazilian highlands and to the foothills of the Andes. A most important tributary is the sluggish Paraguay River that joins the Paraná after receiving the waters of the Pilcomayo and the Bermejo. The other branch of la Plata, the Uruguay River, flows for a large distance through low-lying plains. Along the lower banks of the tributaries of la Plata River are found treeless plains or pampas which, before the advent of Europeans, were covered with tussocks of grass. They are comparable to North American prairies.

Patagonian Plains.—To the far south the pampas merge into the plains of Patagonia. These vary from prairielike districts on the north to bleak steppes in the south. Occasional petroleum seepages have there been discovered.

The Cordillera.—The dominant physiographic feature of South America is the great Cordillera which stretches from the Isthmus of Panama to Cape Horn. At its southern extremity the Cordillera is composed of one mountain chain. About 25° south of the equator, however, that chain divides into two ranges which gradually diverge as they proceed northward. Embracing at first only a narrow table-land, those mountains later enclose a large plateau that contains lakes and valleys. Through the plateau rivers occasionally break their way and proceed to the sea. On the east various streams descend sharply to the lowlands and join the great river systems. The Andes Mountains—as the lofty Cordillera is ordinarily called—reach their culmination in the icy peak of Mt. Aconcagua, which has an elevation of 23,080 feet. Volcanoes are still active, especially near the equator. In the rocks of the high Cordillera there are found rich and varied mineral deposits.

The Great Plateaus.—The territory between the lofty Andean chain and the coastal Cordillera is a plateau that rises thousands of feet above sea level. Probably it is more accurate to say that this region is composed of a series of plateaus, which are more or less broken up by hills and mountain peaks, lakes and river valleys. Because of the great altitude—which often ranges from ten to

twelve thousand feet—the climate of those plateaus is temperate. Fish are found in their lakes and streams. Timber for building purposes is furnished by their forests. Their mountains contain stone. Among their flora and fauna are some of the most useful gifts of the American continent, namely, quinine, the potato, and the llama. In fine, the plateaus of Titicaca, Quito, and Bogotá furnish natural conditions favorable to the development of civilization.

The Pacific Coastal Plain.—A plain, which is about eighty miles wide at its maximum under the equator and becomes little more than a fringe of islands in the south, stretches along the western coast. A southern portion of the Pacific Coastal Plain has sufficient rainfall for profitable agriculture. The western coast of South America has few rivers of any kind. Emptying at the equator is the short, sluggish Guayas River which drains unhealthful plains. Farther south are a few short rivers that wind their way from the Cordillera to the Pacific. The central portion of the Pacific Coastal Plain is deprived of rain throughout the year because the moisture-laden winds are intercepted by lofty mountains. South of the Camarones River it is extremely arid. The most uninviting portion of the barren plain is the desert of Atacama, which covers some twenty degrees of latitude. Yet copper in the Andean foothills, nitrate deposits in certain arid regions, and guano upon adjacent islands furnish the bases for important industries.

“Middle America.”—Physiographic and climatic resemblances that exist between Central America and present Mexico—at least so far north as the Tropic of Cancer—have caused those regions to be designated “Middle America.” Its chief physiographic provinces may be considered as follows: (1) the Cordillera; (2) the Highlands; (3) the Atlantic and the Pacific Coastal Plains; and (4) the Peninsula of Yucatan.

The Cordillera.—In Central America the Cordillera dominates the landscape. As a geographer has pointed out, it seems as though in that section the eastern plateaus and plains had been swept away by the ocean, leaving only

the elevated western regions. At the Isthmus of Panama indeed the Cordillera becomes a low, narrow range; but to the north it rises and is surmounted by lofty peaks. North of the Isthmus of Tehauntepec the continent widens again. As it expands the Cordillera expands also. Near its highest point the mountain chain divides into an eastern and a western range which inclose extensive highlands.

The Highlands.—Elevated portions of Central America have been styled miniature pictures of the Andean plateau. In present Mexico the highland is broken by peaks that glisten with eternal snow. To the north the highland sinks into a dusty desert. Although the greater portion of this plateau lies between the tropics, yet, because of an altitude which varies from six to eight thousand feet, the climate is so temperate that it has been designated eternal spring. Rich in minerals and containing lakes and fruitful valleys, this highland, which was called Anáhuac by the aborigines, was suited to be the site of a high culture.

The Coastal Plains.—In Central America there are low Coastal Plains of varying width. Toward the north a narrow plain is left on each side between the expanding Cordillera and an ocean. Even there the land generally slopes more abruptly to the Pacific than to the Atlantic. Along the Coastal Plains the climate is humid and tropical or semitropical. Other depressions besides those of the coastal plains are the marshy sections and the Isthmus of Tehauntepec.

The Peninsula of Yucatan.—Between the bays of Campeche and Honduras lies the peninsula of Yucatan. With a comparatively slight elevation above sea level, its climate is tempered by the adjacent waters. It is a hilly, fertile region. In pre-Columbian days it evidently possessed some of the attractive features of the neighboring highlands.

Absence of Great River Systems.—"Middle America" possesses few rivers. Exclusive of the Río Grande—whose northern banks are now held by the United States—this region contains no important river systems. The Usmacinta River, flowing in large part through present Mexico, empties into the Gulf of Campeche. On the east

coast there are scarcely any good harbors: Vera Cruz is only an indentation in the coastline. On the west, however, are the Gulf of California, the harbor of Acapulco, and the Bay of Panama.

Climate and Vegetation.—In sharp contrast with North America, the widest part of the South American triangle lies near the equator. Another condition makes Latin America less adapted to settlement by white men; namely, the presence of a vast forest. From the southern portion of present Mexico, with only one large break, a tropical forest extends along the eastern coast of Central and South America to 30° south of the equator. Giant hardwood trees amidst an exuberant jungle have presented an almost impenetrable front to civilization.

Climatic Differences.—Portions of Latin America are marked by sharp climatic differences. In proceeding from the coast to the interior in Mexico, Central America, and South America abrupt changes are often experienced. During a single day's journey a traveler may pass from a coastal jungle through a tropical forest, and rising through scrub timber, he may reach a delightful plateau covered with luxuriant grass and dotted with deciduous trees. If he proceeds still higher he may reach a lofty, barren plateau or *páramo* which is surmounted by icy peaks. It was upon the favored uplands that some of the best aboriginal cultures developed. Curious though it may seem, one of the highest types of culture that flourished in America in pre-Columbian days, the Maya civilization, did not develop upon an elevated plateau.

Climatic Transitions.—In an attempt to explain that apparent phenomenon, certain geographers have propounded a theory which merits passing mention. They affirm that in bygone epochs some parts of the Three Americas did not have the same climate as that which they have possessed since 1492. Regions that are now dry were formerly moist. Sections that are now humid were formerly arid. This view that climatic zones have shifted would explain why some regions that are not now adapted for high culture were in pre-Columbian centuries the sites of aboriginal civilization.

Food Plants.—Latin America had a varied offering of flora which were useful for food. Foremost perhaps among such plants that were indigenous to America was maize. Ears of Indian corn have been found in pre-Columbian graves in various parts of South America. The aborigines of Mexico sculptured ears of corn in stone and modeled them in clay. Aborigines of the Andean plateaus cultivated the *quinoa* plant, which produced a grain that was used for food. Various species of beans have been found in prehistoric graves of Aztecs and Quechuans. Certain beans were evidently used by them for medicinal purposes. Pre-Columbian funeral urns were frequently incrustated with decorations of peanuts. Among the gourds of aboriginal South America were found different kinds of squashes. The Indians of Peru seem to have eaten cakes made out of the ground seeds of pumpkins. Inca vases were frequently decorated with conventionalized designs of red peppers. Potatoes, both white and yellow, grew wild in the Andes from present Colombia to Chile. A related tuber called manioc was in certain parts of northern South America perhaps even more useful than the potato. Yams were also found there. In the Inca Empire nuts that resembled almonds were highly esteemed by the aborigines. Among fruits that now flourish in Europe, the delicious pineapple was a native of the New World. Many other fruits, seeds, and nuts that were strange to Europeans were indigenous to tropical America.

Other Flora.—From the cinchona tree that flourished upon Andean slopes was derived the so-called "Peruvian bark"—the invaluable quinine. The leaves of the coca plant—which the Peruvian Indian still chews mixed with lime or ashes—furnished cocaine. Aborigines of Mexico evidently made a beverage from cacao seeds. There vanilla was indigenous. In central South America there flourished *yerba mate*, the "Paraguayan tea." Tobacco was widely cultivated in America before the discovery. Columbus beheld the Indians smoking rude cigarettes made of tobacco wrapped in corn husks! Prehistoric man in America used several sorts of fiber. In Peruvian graves there has been found cotton of different colors: white,

tawny, and maroon. From the century plant of Mexico and Peru the aborigines made a fiber resembling the henequen of Yucatan. After the advent of Europeans, the viscous sap of certain trees and shrubs in Mexico and South America became the rubber of commerce.

Fauna.—America was also well endowed with fauna. Especially was it rich in birds and insects. The turkey was indigenous. Of domesticated animals the aborigines of the New World had few. The American bison was undomesticable. Aborigines of North and Middle America had, in general, only one domesticated animal, the dog.

The Camels of the New World.—South America had, however, a useful quadruped that was strange to Europeans. Aborigines in the western and southern portions of the continent made use of certain indigenous animals which were related to the camel. These New World camels were the guanaco, the vicuña, the llama, and the alpaca. Upon the Patagonian plains Indians hunted the guanaco. Inhabitants of the elevated plateaus used the wool of the vicuña to weave fine cloth. They employed llamas and alpacas for domestic purposes; the llama was the common beast of burden; the fleeces of the llamas and alpacas were used in weaving cloth, while their flesh served as meat.

Origin of American Man.—The problem of the origin of man in the New World is related to the question of prehistoric man. In the absence of convincing evidence about the origin of the American race many theories have been formulated. One of the most careful students of American aborigines, D. G. Brinton, took the view that their ancestors came from western Europe by a land bridge across the Atlantic Ocean.

Remains of Early Man in South America.—Notable remains of early man have been discovered in South America. Kitchen middens have been found in various parts of Brazil. In Argentina innumerable vestiges of prehistoric human activity have been unearthed. Remains of monkeys have been exhumed in Patagonia. Human bones have been found in Brazil and in the Paraná delta.

Theory of South American Origin.—Basing his views upon the study of such remains, an Argentine geologist, paleontologist, and ethnologist named Florentino Ameghino formulated a theory that startled some men of science. Ameghino asserted that in present Argentina, which had emerged from the waters even before European men chipped rude implements out of stone, subman originated from monkeys. He maintained that “man-monkey” (*tetraprohomo Argentinus*) developed there and became differentiated into a number of species. From the pampas man migrated by a convenient land bridge to Africa and Oceanica; he spread over South America, and eventually migrated to North America by way of the Isthmus of Panama, accompanied by colossal animals. In time man proceeded from North America to Asia, where he became the ancestor of the Mongolian peoples, and to Europe, where he became the progenitor of the Caucasian race. According to Ameghino’s hypothesis, the cradle of the human race was neither in Europe nor in Asia but in Argentina.

Objections to Ameghino’s Theory.—Other students of prehistoric man, notably certain members of “the North American school,” challenged that hypothesis. To test the soundness of Ameghino’s theory in 1910 Aleš Hrdlička, a prominent ethnologist of the United States, made a short visit to Argentina for an independent study of the supposed remains of early men. A capable geologist who accompanied him reached the conclusion that probably most of the pampean alluvium in which those remains were found had been deposited in comparatively recent times. Hrdlička reached the conclusion that the evidence at hand did not substantiate the claim that “geologically ancient man” or “any precursors of the human race” had ever lived on the pampas.

Theory of Asiatic Derivation.—In an article which he published later Hrdlička made an interpretative summary of the views commonly accepted in the United States about the origin of man. Hrdlička declared that there was no probability that mankind originated upon the American continent. He reasoned that man did not reach

America until after reaching a development higher than that of the glacial period and that the main physical features of the American race had not been obliterated. He described the characteristic features of the American aborigines, excluding the Eskimos, in brief, as follows: brown skin; hair of head black, medium, coarse, and straight; beard scanty; eyes generally of a deep brown color with eyeslits often having a "slight upward slant"; rather large ears; upper incisor teeth shovel-shaped; and projecting jaws. Basing his hypothesis upon the substantial identity of physical characteristics and elaborating a theory previously propounded by Shaler, Hrdlička expressed the view that the American aborigines belonged to a single stem or strain of people. He argued that immigration had taken place gradually, and that the ancestors of the aborigines who people the Three Americas came from Asia to North America after man had attained a relatively advanced stage of development. Those migratory waves were followed by the multiplication, diffusion, and differentiation of man in America. Hrdlička admitted that small bands of Polynesians or even of Europeans might have settled in certain parts of America within the last two thousand years. The theory of the Asiatic derivation of the American aborigines has been accepted by some ethnologists of Latin America.

Unity of the American Race.—Ethnologists who accept this theory generally incline to the opinion that the pre-Columbian inhabitants of America belonged to one race, with the possible exception of the Eskimos. Still, by 1492 the aborigines of America had so far differentiated that many different languages and dialects had developed. Even in this diversity, however, a certain unity has been found; there were related languages, each of which was ordinarily used by affiliated Indian tribes. Each group of Indians using a closely related speech has been termed a stock.

Distribution of Indians in Latin America.—The process of classifying aboriginal stocks has not progressed so far with regard to Latin America as it has with regard to the United States and Canada. The latest available classifica-

tions include twenty-nine linguistic stocks in Mexico and Central America and more than eighty in South America. To those lists additions or subtractions may subsequently be made, as investigations proceed. Such classifications are significant to historical students because they afford clues that help to determine, with more or less definiteness, the extent of the respective regions that were influenced by one or another of the aboriginal cultures.

Stages of Development.—The American aborigines were in various stages of development, depending largely upon their environment. Some Indians in North America, Central America, and South America had not emerged from the Stone Age. Certain tribes of Mexico, Central America, and South America had reached a higher stage of culture, for they made articles out of bronze. Among those tribes were the Nahuatlans, Mayans, Chibchans, and Incas. At the time of the discovery none of the Indians smelted iron. Various hypotheses have been formed to explain why they had not advanced farther along the pathway of civilization. Among them are the following: the scarcity of domesticated animals; the lack of adaptability in the American race; and the absence of contact with the culture which was developing in the Old World. It is probably safe to assert that at the time Columbus made his landfall, the most advanced American aborigines were more than a thousand years behind their European contemporaries.

Chief Cultural Regions of South America.—During the pre-Columbian epoch a more or less constant mingling of the aborigines evidently took place. At the opening of the sixteenth century in various sections of South America there lived aborigines belonging to different stocks. Yet, using as criteria the prevalence of certain traits besides language, our present knowledge indicates that the South American Indians may be viewed as congeries of tribes living within regions that were the sites of somewhat different types of culture. They may be conveniently grouped in three culture regions which had some relation to the great physiographic provinces of the continent. (1) The region stretching in a southwesterly direction from the

Brazilian Highlands to the Straits of Magellan. In that culture area the aborigines still lived mainly by hunting, fishing, and by gathering nuts. It was made up of the Brazilian Highlands, a part of the Atlantic Coast Plain, the lower basin of la Plata River, the southern portion of the Cordillera, and the Patagonian Plains. (2) A triangular-shaped region in the middle of the continent which had its base upon the northern coast. In this culture area the aborigines lived partly by agriculture; and they had made some progress in the practical arts. It was composed of the Basin of the Orinoco River and the Basin of the Amazon with adjacent tracts, as well as portions of the Atlantic Coast Plain. (3) The region that comprised most of the western part of the continent. There those aborigines lived who made implements from copper and bronze. It included the major portion of the Cordilleras with the Great Plateaus and also portions of the Pacific Coast Plain.

The Tapuyan Indians.—The Tapuyan Indians were probably the most northern members of the lowest culture group in 1492. At that juncture they were hemmed in by tribes of a higher culture, the Caribans and the Tupians. The Tapuyans were often called by their neighbors "the Ancients." They were nomads who lived by hunting. The Portuguese called them "Botocudos" (lip-pegs) because of a custom which the men had adopted of ornamenting their lips with a peg for each enemy killed in battle. Southwest of the Tapuyans were the Guaycuran Indians who inhabited the region now designated as the Chaco.

Charruans.—The Charrúas or the Charruan Indians, as they are sometimes designated, occupied the lower banks of the Uruguay River. They were a taciturn, brave, and warlike people. In time of war they were led by a cacique. They made a livelihood by war, by hunting, and by fishing. Apparently they were polygamous. Their women often accompanied them on their forays. As implements of warfare they used clubs, bows and arrows, and bolas, which were stones fastened to thongs. Only in cold weather did they cover their bodies with long, sleeveless shirts made from the skins of wild beasts. They were intensely fond



of an intoxicating beverage called *chicha* that was made from cane juice. Their religion was a species of fetish worship.

Pulchean, Tsonekan, and Chonoan Indians.—To the south and west of la Plata River—occupying large portions of Patagonia—were located the Pulchean, the Tsonekan, and the Chonoan Indians. These warlike aborigines had not emerged from the Stone Age. Their chieftains were hereditary. As described to us by travelers, their manners and customs much resembled those of the neighboring Araucanians.

Araucanians.—Living mainly between the Andes and the Pacific Ocean, and between the parallels of 27° and 40° south latitude, was a group of related aborigines who became known as the Araucanians. Perhaps that word was derived from the Indian word *auco*, meaning the free. Scantily dressed in the skins of foxes and lions, they gained their livelihood by farming, fishing, and hunting. From juicy fruits they made intoxicating liquors of which they were very fond. They were cruel to their enemies and superstitious in their religious beliefs. Athletic, brave, and patriotic, they were keen lovers of liberty. In some respects they are comparable with the Iroquois of North America.

Their Organization and Culture.—A group of Araucanian families constituted what was designated a tribe. They recognized no chief except in war. During peaceful times the oldest head of a family or the bravest warrior was most respected by the Araucanians. When war seemed imminent they chose a chief whom they designated as *toqui* to manage military operations. At such times the Araucanians held military assemblies; they sent an arrow dipped in blood from group to group as a signal that war had been agreed upon. The Araucanians used as implements of warfare the bow and arrow, lances, wooden clubs, and lassos weighted by stones. They were implacable warriors who savagely tormented their captives. Intellectually they had not progressed far: they do not seem to have been able to count above ten; and they measured time by the movements of the sun and moon. It can scarcely be said that they possessed a literature. As workmen they were not artistic. Their music

was a melancholy and monotonous chant. Yet, because of their energetic and warlike patriotism, Alonzo de Ercilla, a noble Spaniard who fought against the Araucanians, immortalized them in an epic which he styled *La Araucana*.

Arawakans.—In 1492 the Arawakans were scattered from the headwaters of the Amazon to its mouth and also occupied isles of the Caribbean Sea. They made a livelihood by farming and fishing: maize, manioc, and fish were staples in their diet. They displayed much skill in making earthen vessels. They made stone hatchets and sabers of hard wood to use in war. Eventually the Arawakans became involved in a struggle with the Cariban Indians.

Caribans.—The Caribans made their living by farming, hunting, and fighting. It was their custom to eat adult males whom they captured. So addicted were they to this abominable practice that the Spaniards called them "Caribs," meaning cannibals. Just before the Spanish conquest began, the fierce Caribs were rapidly spreading over the Antilles; and they also dominated parts of the northeastern coast of South America.

Tupians.—The mode in which the Tupian Indians are scattered about South America has furnished a basis for the view that their primitive home was near the northern tributaries of la Plata River. They seem to have made their way down the affluents of that river to the Atlantic and then to have proceeded northward to the Atlantic's mouth. At the opening of the fifteenth century they were found some distance up the Amazon River. They made a livelihood mainly by hunting and fishing. Those members of the Tupian stock who were located in the south near the junction of the Pilcomayo and Paraná Rivers were noted for their bravery: they called themselves Guaraníes, which, being interpreted, meant warriors. The Guaraníes were cannibals.

Calchaquians.—Neighbors of one group of the Tupians were the Calchaquian Indians who are sometimes called the Diaguites. The Calchaquian Indians were located in the mountains of the eastern Andes. They had reached a higher stage of culture than Indians to the east. Ordinarily they clad themselves in a tunic made out of the wool

of the llama. They wore their hair long, tied it in a knot, encircled it with a band, and decorated it with colored plumes. Their villages were generally composed of stone houses grouped together—somewhat after the fashion of the Pueblo Indians—upon a cliff or the side of a ravine. The Calchaquians were farmers whose chief crop was maize. They had domesticated the llama, the turkey, and certain species of ducks. They had a curious custom of burying dead children in funeral urns. Besides urns and vases, they manufactured stone hatchets, basins, and pipes, as well as spoons of wood and implements of copper. A rude fresco ascribed to these aborigines depicts them as engaged in a fierce struggle with the Aymaran Indians. Originally they had a language of their own which was eventually displaced, however, by the language of the Incas who conquered them.

Pre-Inca Civilizations.—Inca civilization arose upon the ruins of an earlier culture. During the pre-Inca age several indigenous cultures flourished in western South America. Among them were the Nazca, the Chimú or Yunca, and the culture that centered—in a religious aspect at least—around Tiahuanaco. Nazca civilization developed in the valleys of Chíncha, Ica, and Nazca; and the Yunca civilization centered around Trujillo. Farmers and fishermen, who had attained distinction in the making of pottery, spread the cultures of the Yuncas and the Nazcas. Both those peoples were addicted to human sacrifices.

Tiahuanaco.—The chief pre-Inca civilization, however, developed upon the elevated plateau at Tiahuanaco, near the southeastern shores of Lake Titicaca. There ruins are still found of what were perhaps the most imposing architectural structures of pre-Columbian America. Among these are fragments of a temple erected to a god called Viracocha. Near the temple have been found enormous stones decorated with symbolic figures and colossal monolithic statues. It has been suggested that possibly this city was the religious center of an Empire which had a political capital elsewhere.

The Aymarans.—With regard to the aborigines that built this metropolis there has been a difference of opinion

among scholars. Careful students of Peruvian antiquities, basing their views upon the belief that the people of Tiahuanaco had developed a distinct type of architecture, have ascribed it to a people called the Aymarans, a large-chested people who deformed their children's heads by compressing them between boards. A prominent Peruvian scholar has ascribed it to the Quechuan Indians. Other students have attributed it to a mysterious people distinct from either the Aymarans or the Quechuans. In any case, during an age which perhaps antedated the arrival of Pizzaro by one thousand years, the rulers of Tiahuanaco had spread their civilization over a large section of the Andean highlands. During that epoch there also flourished along the coast some less important aboriginal kingdoms, notably that which centered around the sacred city of Pachacamac.

Rise of the Incas.—The Tiahuanaco civilization was overthrown—possibly by savages—and a period of anarchy succeeded. During that period in various districts strong peoples emerged into prominence and extended their influence over neighboring territory. Among those peoples were the warlike Quechuans inhabiting the valleys around Cuzco. The name Inca seems originally to have been applied to their chieftain and to members of the ruling family. It was eventually made the designation of the expanding Quechuan tribe.

Inca Conquests.—According to legend, the founder of the Inca dynasty was Manco Capac, who led his people from Tampu-Tocco—which is supposed to have been at a place now called Machu Picchu—to the fertile, protected valley of Cuzco. It is conjectured that probably in the mists of the twelfth century those people began to extend their influence from Cuzco into the adjacent valleys. Chieftains—who became less and less legendary—undertook to subjugate the neighboring aborigines. In the fourteenth century the Incas apparently undertook to unify their conquests.

Extent of the Inca Empire.—At its greatest extent the Empire of the Incas stretched on the south to about latitude 27°, on the north it extended a short distance beyond

the equator, on the east beyond Lake Titicaca, and on the west to the Pacific Ocean. By its inhabitants the vast Empire was designated Tahuantin Suyu. It was divided into four administrative districts. (1) Chinchay Suyu, which extended from Cuzco north and west to the Pacific. (2) Ccolla Suyu, which included the basin of Lake Titicaca and stretched south to the river Loa. (3) Anti Suyu, which stretched east of Cuzco and included certain Andean slopes. (4) Ccunti Suyu, which extended from Cuzco westward to the Pacific coast. In certain regions beyond these districts the influence of the Incas had been felt, especially to the east. To the north their sway had not spread much farther than the highlands where llamas and alpacas were used as domestic animals.

Its Population and Language.—The exact population of Tahuantin Suyu about 1492 is not known. No census of the Empire was ever taken. Ruins of towns and fortresses indicate that its population was most dense in oases near the coast and in fruitful Andean valleys. A careful Peruvian scholar has estimated that its population was from eight to ten millions. The city of Cuzco, the capital and metropolis, possibly contained some fifty thousand souls. There were a score or more of smaller cities. Various tongues were used: besides the Quechuan speech, which remained the language of the Incas and also became the official language of the Empire, the people of certain districts used special dialects. Many subjects of the Incas continued to use the speech of the conquered Aymarans. Possibly a million inhabitants of the Inca Empire spoke the Quechuan language.

Quechuan Social Conditions.—Quechuans were organized into clans or *ayllus* that occupied villages. The council of the Quechuan tribe was composed of delegates chosen by the clans. A clan acknowledged a common ancestry through the female line. Originally each clan seems to have had its own religious cult with distinct ceremonies and social obligations. Even after the process of consolidation had progressed, members of the same clan continued to furnish mutual aid in the tillage of the soil and the construction of houses. Apparently the right of private

property existed to some extent. For members of the upper classes, at least, could bequeath their patrimonies. A father might leave his movable property to his sons. If he had no descendants, his property went to the State. The Quechuans were densely ignorant of hygiene. Incas of royal blood—called *orejones* by the Spaniards—and certain privileged classes formed a sort of nobility.

The Conquered Tribes.—The various tribes which composed the Inca Empire were also made up of clans. Each tribe occupied a more or less definite territory within which it had special rights. Sometimes the vanquished peoples were confederated under the leadership of the Incas. Upon the conquest of a certain tribe, its lands were ordinarily divided into three parts. One part was assigned to the inhabitants for their livelihood: every individual thus had the use of a portion of land. Each father of a family had the right to a strip of land, the size of which depended upon the number of his children. He was allowed to keep the produce that was necessary for the subsistence of his family. A second part of the conquered territory belonged to the cult of the Sun. The third part was the property of the Incas. Produce derived from the second and third parts was used for the support of religious officials and of the government. The Incas and the Sun, with a few members of the nobility, owned most of the herds and flocks. Alpaca wool and cotton were distributed among certain individuals either for the manufacture of their clothing or for the fabrication of textiles for the use of the government.

Inca Religion.—The religion of the Incas was founded mainly upon the reverence of natural phenomena—which were sometimes personified—and the worship of the dead. Natural objects of adoration varied according to the region inhabited. The coastmen adored the sea, the mountaineers revered lions and bears, while the plateau people worshiped the lightning and the rainbow. With the conquests of the Incas the number of their gods increased; for the personified forces of nature which were adored by subjugated tribes were added to the gods in the Inca pantheon. Each family revered its dead, whose bones were

preserved in special sepulchers. Every clan adored its dead caciques and heroes. Inca rulers were the objects of special reverence: during life they were adored; and a species of worship was addressed to their mummies. Certain cults survived the Inca conquest, notably the mysterious religion of Pachacamac. Above all, the Inca tribe was devoted to the worship of the Sun, which naturally became the religion of the State. All the gods of the Empire were declared to be children of the Sun. It is believed by some students of the ancient Peruvians that at Pachacamac and Cuzco human beings were occasionally immolated.

Military Organization.—The military organization of the Incas was of paramount importance, for the army and war were the bases of their power. A fighting and farming people, no sooner had they conquered a region than they undertook to cultivate the land. At the apex of Inca organization was a species of military nobility that defied death. Common soldiers were recruited from the agricultural classes. It seems to have been the custom of the Incas to keep groups of those soldiers under arms for a short time and then to replace them by others. The families of soldiers who were engaged in military service were supported and their fields were cultivated. War was waged in a barbarous fashion. After a victory the soldiers often became inebriated. Denizens of a conquered territory were compelled to furnish provisions for Inca soldiers and to construct forts. Eventually the Empire was held together by a series of military fortresses which were ordinarily located at strategic points. Sometimes these fortifications were constructed with salients and angles so as to permit of lateral fire upon attacking forces. In the construction of their fortresses the Incas occasionally used stones weighing several tons.

Mitimaes.—Like the Romans, the Incas planted military colonies within territories which they conquered. Such colonies were styled *mitimaes*. Inca military colonists were Quechuan Indians who were ordered to learn the language of a vanquished people without forgetting their own tongue. They acted as police and as spies. They wore a

distinctive dress and might neither return to their native districts nor change their residences without permission. The purpose of the Incas in establishing military colonies was to decrease or to destroy opposition to their rule in the conquered districts.

Roads.—Another mode by which the Incas consolidated their conquests was by the construction of highways. The inhabitants of conquered regions were compelled to build roads and to maintain them. From Cuzco roads extended in various directions. One highway proceeded by a serpentine route northward from Cuzco to Quito and also southward toward the region inhabited by the Araucanian Indians. Another ran in a southerly direction from the Gulf of Guayaquil to the desert of Atacama. Those main highways were connected by secondary roads that descended from the mountains to the coast. In connection with their roads the Incas sometimes built bridges. Inca highways scaled lofty crags by stairways, and at certain points were provided with storehouses for provisions and munitions. Still, in the main, they were mere footpaths for Indian couriers.

Architecture.—In architecture the Incas had reached a high stage of development. They used stone in the construction of their chief buildings. They carefully fitted or keyed stones together by means of irregularities on their inner surfaces. Lime or cement they used seldom, if indeed at all. A few circular or semicircular buildings of the Incas have been found; but their structures were generally rectangular in shape. Their walls, doors, and windows ordinarily converged towards the top. The Incas used a number of clever devices in their buildings. They employed lock holes to fasten the bars of doors. They tied the roofs to stone cylinders that projected from the gables. Inside the houses they used such cylinders for hooks and supports, as well as for ventilation and drainage. Occasionally Inca workmen showed some engineering skill. They straightened water courses and dug irrigating ditches along mountain sides. At Sacsahuaman, which is upon a crag overlooking Cuzco, at Ollantaytambo, in a valley near that city, and at Machu Picchu, an almost in-

accessible stronghold northeast of that capital, have been found massive and imposing remains of Inca architecture.

Arts and Crafts.—The Incas modeled animal forms in clay. Their decorative art reached its highest development in pottery. So graceful and simple are the lines of Inca vessels found at Machu Picchu that they have been compared to Grecian vases. Inca workmen made many articles out of bronze: hatchets, knives, mirrors, tweezers, needles, spoons, rings, spangles, bells, and bracelets. They used tin with bronze in casting delicate articles. Surgical tools they manufactured from bronze or obsidian. Occasionally the Incas used those instruments to trepan skulls. Their women wove colored ponchos in unique designs.

Dancing and Music.—Aboriginal customs and traditions were preserved by the Incas in dancing and music. Dances took place at private and public entertainments and at religious feasts, as the feast of the Sun. Occasionally dances were used to incite warriors to combat; at other times they were employed to soothe the anger of irate chieftains. They were also used to portray scenes in national life. The music of the Incas was ordinarily composed of a few notes in a minor key, which were repeated over and over again. In connection with dances and music, their minstrels chanted songs of love and conquest. A historical canto in praise of an Inca has been translated from the Quechuan language into Spanish. Critics have, however, generally presumed that comedies and tragedies ascribed to aboriginal composers were later adaptations of the Spanish drama.

Quipus.—In one most important respect the Incas had lagged behind the Aztecs. Despite rumors of an Inca system of writing, careful scholars have reached the conclusion that the Incas did not develop an alphabet or even a system of hieroglyphics. At the time of the Spanish conquest the chief method which they used for the preservation and transmission of their thoughts was the so-called *Quipu*. This was made up of colored and knotted strings of different lengths which were variously arranged. Somewhat after the fashion of an English tally, those strings were used to keep records and even to transmit thoughts.

Unfortunately the conquistadors wantonly destroyed the collections of quipus at the capital of the Incas.

The "Kingdom of Quito."—Neighbors of the Quechuans on the north were the Cañarian and other Indian stocks that had been influenced, if not indeed conquered, by the Incas. According to aboriginal traditions, the equatorial plateau was originally inhabited by the Quitus Indians; hence the adjacent region was often designated the "Kingdom of Quito." In the equatorial region of the west coast various cultures intermingled. Certain Indians living there had been affected by the culture, at least, of aborigines whom the Spanish conquerors called the Muisca.

Habitat of the Chibchan Indians.—Those Indians, who became known in history as the Chibchans, occupied the most northerly area of high culture in South America. They lived east of the Magdalena River upon a plateau that was traversed by rivers and dotted by lakes. The main habitat of the Chibchan tribe was upon the fertile plateau about the towns of Bacatá and Tunja with the contiguous valleys. In their early history the Chibchans were apparently divided into many small communities ruled by caciques. Ultimately the number of caciques was reduced to five, who began a fight for supremacy. Just before the advent of the Spaniards the cacique named Zipa, who was located at Bacatá, became involved in a desperate struggle with the cacique called Zaque, whose capital was at Tunja. Declining centers of Chibchan culture were at Sogamoso, Tundama, and Guatabita.

Their Culture.—Although some of the Chibchans lived in a comparatively cold region, yet they had developed a high culture. Their chief occupation was agriculture; their crops were mainly cotton, corn, fruits, and potatoes. They manufactured coarse cloth, and mined salt, copper, and emeralds. By commerce with neighboring aborigines they secured other products. They made various articles out of beaten gold. In the early sixteenth century Bacatá had possibly twenty thousand inhabitants.

Architecture.—Chibchan houses were ordinarily round with pyramidal or conical roofs. Their walls were made out of tree trunks set in the earth which were plastered

with a mixture of mud and straw. The size and character of the houses varied according to the social standing of their occupants. Doors and windows were small and few in number. Protected by a wall and by rude fortifications, Bacatá contained the home or "palace" of the Zipa, which was reputed to have a dozen doors.

Art.—Very few remains of stone buildings constructed by the Chibchans have been found. They made various types of pottery, which were often decorated in dark colors. In alloys of variable proportions of gold, silver, and copper, they cast statuettes which they chiseled by means of copper tools. A gold urn found by the conquistadors in Tunja weighed about thirty pounds. Strangely enough—although many Chibchans lived in a region which possessed a wonderfully diversified flora—no representations of trees, leaves, or flowers have been found on their pottery. There is no evidence to prove that they had developed the art of transmitting their ideas beyond the drawing of rude pictographs.

Religion.—Their priests apparently composed a caste. Tradition ascribed to a creative god called Bochica the origin of their civilization. The Chibchan religion was a species of nature worship. Every home had its fetish: every house possessed its idol of clay, wood, wax, copper, silver, or gold. Mountains, rocks, trees, shrubs, and especially streams and lakes, were supposed to be inhabited by divine beings. They were accordingly venerated. Lake Guatabita was the scene of peculiar religious rites. The festive sacrifices that were offered to the gods upon the selection of a new ruler furnished a basis for the alluring myth of El Dorado.

El Dorado.—According to a story handed down by Spanish chroniclers, upon coronation day the young chief was taken to the shores of Lake Guatabita. There he embarked on a boat which was laden with gold and emeralds. After being clad in festive robes by the priests, the prince was smeared with sticky earth and covered with gold dust. In the middle of Lake Guatabita—so ran the legend—the monarch offered his precious treasure to the gods by emptying it into the lake amid the rejoicings of

his people. From this story arose the legend of the gilded man, which lured adventurers to make expeditions in search of a country where gold was plentiful.

Human Sacrifices.—Far from attractive was the Chibchan practice of human sacrifices. Those sometimes took place at sunrise. Occasionally a victim was bound to poles and shot to death by arrows. At times captive children seem to have been sacrificed. When a cacique died, slaves and women were often interred alive beside his body, which was adorned with jewels and anointed with a preservative balsam.

Culture of "Middle America."—The Chibchan stock also occupied a portion of the Isthmus of Panama and Central America. To the north of the Chibchans was an area where different cultures mingled and affected Indians that were in a lower stage of development. Possibly the most noteworthy of the aborigines that were located in this intermediate area were the Cunan and the Ulvan Indians—both probably related to the Chibchans—and the Mosquitoan Indians. Three Indian stocks of "Middle America" developed high civilizations. Those were the Mayan, the Zapotecan, and the Nahuatlans who lived mainly upon the highland or a favored peninsula. On the northern outskirts of the Nahuatlans were some related peoples possessing a low culture. Among these were Indians designated by the Spanish conquerors as "Chichimecs" whom ethnologists have classified linguistically with the Nahuatlans. Farther to the north were other Indians: as the Yaqui and the Piman who have been grouped by ethnologists with the Nahuatlans stock; and the Yuman whose culture resembled that of Indians inhabiting the southwestern part of the present United States. Hovering upon the northern borders of present Mexico were the Athapascans that included the vengeful Apaches.

The Mayans.—In 1492 the habitat of the Mayans was the Peninsula of Yucatan. Upon the northwest their influence extended to the Isthmus of Tehautepec, while on the southwest it almost reached the Pacific Ocean. The Empire of the Mayans early included almost all of Central America. Their history has been divided into two

periods: the "Old Empire," including the period from the earliest times until about 600 A.D.; and the "New Empire," including the period from 600 to the Spanish conquest. The oldest Mayan culture had its site in certain portions of present Mexico and Central America. From the fifth to the seventh centuries was the most flourishing period of Mayan power. Expanding to the north the Mayans emigrated to Yucatan, where they established an Empire that lasted until the Spanish conquest.

Their Ruined Cities.—Ruined cities found in Yucatan and Central America show the character of the Mayan Indians. Important seats of their civilization were Tikal, Copán, Palenque, Quirigua, Chichen Itza, and Uxmal. Upon those sites were found the ruins of stone buildings that had apparently been used for religious purposes. Located at strategic points, certain cities were protected by walls and fortresses. Temples constructed of sandstone were often built upon hills or mounds. It is believed that centuries ago each of the ruined cities was the site of a large town containing many inhabitants.

Organization.—Scant evidence has been found regarding the organization of the Mayans. It appears, however, that they were arranged in exogamous clans in which descent was traced in the male line. The clans were located in villages; and every clan was headed by a chief. Land was the collective property of each family: apparently the labor of tilling the soil was performed in common. Every village had a hereditary military leader. Justice was administered by village officials.

Art.—Although the homes of the Mayans were ordinarily only wooden huts covered with straw or palm leaves, yet they were fine artisans. Among them the manufacture of pottery was highly advanced. Especially did they excel in the decorative art. Their vases were occasionally decorated with human masks. Frequently their flasks were adorned with profiles and with hieroglyphics in relief. The discovery of Mayan vases bearing animal or human representations has led to the conclusion that those vessels were probably used in religious rites. In Mayan temples many walls were covered with designs in stucco or

in relief on stone. Huge statues of men, richly carved wooden panels, and poorly executed paintings of animals, have been found in ruined cities of the Mayans. Interior decorations of their temples sometimes depict divinities and priests.

Religion.—Whether or not their rulers belonged to the priestly class, it is evident that in the life of the Mayans the religious element played an important part. They had several different divinities. Their chief gods were Itzamna, the god of the east or of the rising sun; and Kukulkan, the god of order—the patron of arts and crafts. Their dominant form of religion was a species of sun worship. The sun was often represented in their decorations by a feathered snake named Quetzal. To the Mayans the world was an arena of conflict between two opposing forces:—the sun, which was the source of light and life, and the night, which was emblematic of darkness and death. Although ordinarily the offerings to their gods consisted of fruits of the land, yet occasionally slaves or children were sacrificed. A most striking pictorial decoration of the Mayans represents a man being sacrificed to Kukulkan. Yet they do not seem to have made that horrible combination of war and human sacrifice which was an essential feature of the Aztec cult.

Astronomy.—The religious rites of the Mayans were based upon astronomical observations. Their priests studied the heavens carefully. So accurate were their calculations that they coördinated the lunar month with the solar calendar. In Mayan temples much use was made of the cross, as a symbol of the four quarters of the heavens.

Hieroglyphics.—The Mayans had learned how to preserve and transmit their thoughts by writing. As yet, their hieroglyphics are not fully intelligible, but they have been serviceable in setting limits to Mayan civilization. In the Mayan system of writing, phonetic symbols were evidently displacing ideographic symbols. The arithmetic of the Mayans has been reconstructed with so much success that it has helped to determine the age when their culture flourished. Their elaborately carved monoliths have been designed as five-year “almanacs in stone.”

Disruption of the Mayan Empire.—Long before the Spaniards saw the Yucatanese coast, the Mayan civilization—which is supposed to mark the highest point of development reached by aboriginal Americans—had fallen into decay. Because of climatic changes which promoted the growth of dense forests, because of the degeneration of the Mayans, or because of a combination of unfavorable circumstances, their Empire broke up into little kingdoms, while their language split into several dialects.

Zapotecans.—North of the Mayans were located other tribes that had attained a comparatively high development. Probably the most important of the Indian stocks occupying the territory between the Mayans and the Aztecs was the Zapotecan. The center of Zapotecan culture was the city of Mitla; her architecture still demonstrates the skill of her workmen. With stone tools those aborigines hewed massive blocks out of quarries and constructed buildings which vie with those of the Incas. The use of stucco mosaics by the Zapotecans indicates that they had been affected by Mayan civilization.

Toltecs.—For many years the originators of Mexican and Central American culture were supposed to have been the Toltecs. Critical students of Indian civilizations, however, have destroyed that tradition. It is now believed that about the year 1000 A.D. there existed upon the plateau of Anáhuac a tribe known as the Toltecs—whose home was about the city of Tula—who had probably derived their culture from the Mayans. The state of the Toltecs was merely a small kingdom whose culture was related to the Nahuatlán civilization. Even more than the Zapotecans, the Toltecs seem to derive their chief importance from the fact that they served to transmit the civilization of the Mayans to the Nahuatlans.

Nahuatlans.—The Nahuatlans were related tribes, whose members upon the eve of the Spanish conquest held sway from the Isthmus of Tehautepec to the Panuco River. Their legends affirm that their early home was on a great water in the far north. Evidently the Nahuatlans secured from the Mayans a knowledge of writing, archi-

itecture, and calendars, besides certain religious ideas, as the cult of Quetzalcoatl, the feathered snake.

Aztecs.—Of the Nahuatlán peoples the last to reach the pleasant central valley in the plateau of Anáhuac were the Mexicas or, as they were commonly called, the Aztecs. It was perhaps about 1325 when they settled upon two small islands in Lake Tezcoco under a chief named Tenoch. As the Aztecs eventually triumphed in the struggle for subsistence, the city of Tenochtitlan became the center of their power. Gradually they extended their influence and authority over adjacent peoples. With the people of two other tribes or pueblos, the Tezcocans and the Tlacopans, they organized a confederacy which subjugated peoples who were far distant from Anáhuac. At its largest extent—including some tribes that had been enveloped but not subdued by the Aztecs—their Empire stretched from Yucatan almost to the river Panuco and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. On the north the Aztec Empire was bounded by the Tarascan and Otomian Indians and by the Chichimecs.

Their Stage of Development.—Much dispute was waged about the exact stage of civilization reached by the Aztecs. Basing their views upon the imaginative accounts of Spanish chroniclers, early historians of the Aztecs conveyed an exalted notion of their culture. As a reaction some writers have aimed to reduce them to the level of other North American Indians. In recent years, however, the tendency has been to consider the Aztec civilization as a highly developed form of an indigenous culture.

The Aztec Confederacy.—A prime object of the Aztec confederacy was to wage war. Each of the confederated tribes possessed an independent organization and had a right to certain land. Upon this territory the town from which the respective tribe took its name was located. Each tribe might wage war on its own account and levy tribute upon the territory which it conquered. Taught how to fight at an early age, the men of all the tribes were warriors. Military officers were elected by the tribe or by the clans. The clan was the military unit.

In War Times.—The arrangement in a war waged by the three confederates was that the Aztecs should receive two-fifths of the spoils, the Tezcochans two-fifths, and the Tlacopans one-fifth. In time of joint action the Aztec war chief was the commander in chief of the combined forces; but when the war had terminated the tribes resumed their independent military organizations. A council aided and advised the war chief, who almost possessed the powers of an Emperor. Conquered tribes had to furnish tribute to the confederates. Apparently the Aztec conquests extended from about 20° latitude on the north to a line some distance beyond the frontier of the Mayans.

The Aztec Tribe.—The Aztec tribe was composed of twenty clans. Each clan occupied a number of communal houses. A clan was governed by a council composed of elected chiefs. Ordinarily each clan had a political as well as a military chief. Aztec clans were organized into four phratries which were commanded by their respective war captains. Lands were reserved for the use of temples, markets, and other public buildings. A section of tribal territory was assigned to each clan. The territory of a clan was divided into portions which were allotted to the married men for agricultural purposes. Originally the title to the land, however, remained in the clan: the tiller of the soil could neither sell his allotment nor transfer it. Tribal officials—who could not till their own allotments—were given the products of lands which were cultivated for them by a dependent class. Public lands were set apart for clan councils and for officials of temples and other public buildings.

Its Government.—The central government of the Aztec tribe was vested in a council composed of twenty members representing the different clans. It settled disputes and initiated men into office. The Aztecs had two chiefs: the civil chief known as the "snake-woman," who was elected for life by the council; and the war chief, known as the "chief of men," who was selected by the civil and religious leaders of the tribe. Just before the Spanish conquest the Aztec war chief exercised some important religious functions and was consequently viewed with great veneration.

Mexico City.—Tenochtitlan or, as it was later styled, Mexico City, was the stronghold of the Aztecs and the center of their culture. The marshy islands upon which it had been built were linked to the mainland by three long causeways with gates that regulated the flow and the depth of the water. From a neighboring hill potable water was conveyed to the city by an aqueduct. Mexico City was arranged around a great square that was surrounded by a stone wall which had gates leading to the three causeways. Trade was carried on where trees shaded the narrow streets and also in the great square where public gatherings were held. In and around that square were large communal structures, official buildings called *tecpan*s, armories or "houses of javelins," and pyramidal temples, which included educational buildings and the residences of priests. Communal buildings were one or two stories high with low parapets. The main *tecpan* was capped by observation towers. Temples were mounted by steps: they were crowned by wooden oratories as well as by sacrificial stones. Inhabitants of the capital city appear to have had a different status from those of the adjacent towns. Estimates of the population of Mexico City at the time of the conquest vary widely. Possibly it contained fifty thousand souls.

Aztec Religion.—As the culture of the Aztecs was essentially urban, so was Mexico City their religious center. Their religion was a species of idolatry: they worshiped gods of wood and stone. The largest temple in the great square was dedicated to the cult of Huitzilopochtli, the god of war. Some three hundred feet long at the base, it was about one hundred and fifty feet high. A Spanish chronicler described it as the altar upon which human sacrifices were offered by priests who smelt of blood and sulphur. Tezcatlipoca was the god of the breath of life—the racial god of the Nahuatlans—whose cult was practiced in the same temple as that of the god of war. Tlaloc was the Aztec god of rain and fertility. Quetzalcoatl was the feathered god of order, enlightenment, and humane-ness—the fair god of romance.

A most abominable feature of the Aztec religion was

the terrible custom of offering human sacrifices to Huitzilopochtli. Upon the summit of the chief temple captives and children were at special times stretched upon sacrificial stones, their breasts were opened at one fell blow, and their bleeding hearts were thrust into a receptacle as a sacrifice to the awful deity! Terror caused by the cult of human sacrifice strengthened the prestige of the Aztecs among the neighboring peoples. Occasionally a warrior destined for the sacrifice was fastened to the altar and then allowed to fight with Mexican warriors until he succumbed. After the Roman analogy, the Spaniards designated such a combat the gladiatorial sacrifice.

Classes.—Among the Aztecs there were various classes, which somewhat resembled castes. Full-fledged citizens might or might not belong to what the Spanish conquerors called the "noble" class. Those Aztecs who refused to marry or to till the soil were excluded from their respective clans. Although they could scarcely be designated slaves, yet they formed a dependent class. Merchants belonged to a special group; they made distant expeditions not only for trading purposes but also to gather information about neighboring territories: in fact, they acted as spies. Mechanics did not belong to a close caste; for a son was not compelled to learn his father's trade. Still, certain artisans, as goldsmiths, and silversmiths, were held in special esteem. Aztecs who had performed certain rites or who had distinguished themselves in war were accorded honorary titles. Although such titled leaders could scarcely be considered a noble class, yet from them the Aztecs often selected their chiefs. It appears that at the time of the Spanish conquest the Aztecs were experiencing a social transformation, as the father had acquired the right to transmit property to his son.

Occupations.—The chief occupation of the Aztecs was agriculture. Some manufacturing was carried on; and certain towns even produced special products. Aztecs were deft artisans. They manufactured textiles out of a great variety of materials which they dyed in rich tints. They colored feather plumes beautifully. From stone—particularly obsidian—they made the tips of lances, arma-

tures, and mirrors. Excellent examples of their pottery have been preserved: among them many fine bowls, as well as amorphous, cylindrical, and globular vases. Sometimes the Aztecs decorated their vases with symbolic designs or adorned them in relief. They sculptured in stone, carving bas-reliefs on their temples and statues; they had attained a high degree of skill in cutting precious stones, and even manufactured mosaics from turquoise. Of the metals they used copper, tin, silver, and gold. As the gold jewelry was melted by avaricious Spaniards, very few golden trinkets of Aztec workmanship have been preserved.

Picture Writing.—Aztec civilization reached its culminating point in the so-called "picture writing." Upon the skins of animals or upon paper made from the fiber of an agave, the Aztecs drew paintings which conveyed ideas. To draw the design they used a pointed instrument—possibly the thorn of an agave—and the design was tinted with vegetable or mineral colors. Although many of the picture writings were wantonly destroyed, yet some precious codices dating from the pre-Columbian epoch have been preserved. Their character varies somewhat according to the epoch to which they belong. Among them are drawings which depict the migrations of the Aztecs in northern Mexico, their religious rites and domestic scenes, the payment of tribute by subject tribes, and the advent of the white strangers. Aztec hieroglyphs were often composed of descriptive figures—like illustrations in books—and of signs, which evidently had the values of actual writing. Comparable to charts or plans accompanied by written explanations, they were composed of two elements: the figurative; and the ideographic. The system has been likened to writing in rebus form. The Aztecs had indeed taken a timid step toward a phonetic system of writing.

Summary.—With many river valleys and low plains South America possessed a relatively large area that was adapted to agriculture. Yet narrow plains with a regular coast line were often bordered by abrupt highlands that hindered communication with the interior. Some great

river valleys were covered with dense forests which could scarcely be traversed except by river courses, and which at times were plagued with disease. Passes in high mountain ranges were often very difficult to scale. Here and there swift rivers afforded abundant water power; but ordinarily the plains, the hills, and the mountains lacked coal. Of the great river systems upon the eastern coast, two were poor doorways for Europeans because they were in the equatorial region. Not a few of the best harbors of Latin America were "mountain-locked." Such obstacles, which confronted man in many sections of South America, help to explain why the highest aboriginal cultures were seated upon the fertile plateaus in or near the tropics where the climate was springlike. There the Indians had developed the highest form of political organization known to pre-Columbian America—a type of primitive Confederation. But partly because of natural obstacles, and partly because of lack of transportation facilities, the Aztecs and the Incas were isolated. Little or no communication took place between them: the Aztecs knew nothing about the potato or the llama, while the Incas had not developed the art of picture writing. Physiographic and climatic conditions rendered large portions of South America more or less inaccessible to men from temperate countries of Europe. The aboriginal race was thus not so easily overwhelmed as in the English colonies of North America. Early colonies of Spanish and Portuguese in America were much influenced by the physical environment and by the customs of aborigines. In the lands of the Aztecs, the Chibchans, and the Incas, the conquistadors planted settlements near the sites of Indian towns and villages.

CHAPTER II

THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

The Iberian Peninsula.—Jutting far into the Atlantic, the Iberian Peninsula is the natural home of a people that seeks its fortune upon the sea. There is no physiographic basis for the existing political division of the peninsula. During the Middle Ages, however, because of historic reasons, it became the abode of two distinct nationalities. Yet as they were subject to similar geographic influences, and as they sprang from almost identical stocks, the Spanish and the Portuguese peoples had some common characteristics.

Its Physiography.—The Iberian Peninsula is geographically *multum in parvo*. Its physiography is determined by mountains, plateaus, and river systems. To the north the lofty Pyrenees almost isolate it from France. On the northwest the Cantabrian Mountains, which skirt the coast at some distance from the Bay of Biscay, delimit a physiographic province that is mainly inhabited by people called Basques. From the junction of the Pyrenees and the Cantabrian Mountains the Iberian or Celtiberian range runs to the southeast and then to the west where it joins the Sierra Nevada or Pentibética Mountains. Those mountain ranges thus divide the peninsula roughly into four physiographic provinces which are subdivided into smaller provinces by minor ranges and by the Ebro, the Guadalquivir, the Guadiana, the Tagus, and the Duoro rivers. With high mountains and plateaus that slope more or less gradually to the sea, the Iberian Peninsula has marked contrasts in climate. Those contrasts accentuate the physiographic differences.

The "Spanish Race" and Language.—The isolation of certain physiographic provinces of Spain was partly re-

sponsible for the absence of a fixed national type. As a leading Spanish historian has emphatically declared, there is in the true sense no "Spanish race." In the veins of the modern Spaniard there mingle the blood of several different peoples or races. For Iberians, Celts, Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Visigoths, and Vandals had invaded and occupied portions of the Iberian Peninsula. At an early period the Jews became a noticeable element in the population. Most significant was the conquest of the peninsula by the Moslems in the eighth century. This added another element to its population and left an enduring impress upon its civilization. Although the dialect spoken in that portion of northern Spain named Castile had by the opening of the fifteenth century become predominant at court and in literary circles, yet in certain regions there existed linguistic peculiarities—some of which persist to the present day.

Spain in the Fifteenth Century.—In the early fifteenth century the Iberian Peninsula was not a coherent political entity. Over the embattled city of Granada there still waved the Moslem Crescent. The little Kingdom of Navarre was independent. The kingdoms of Castile and León had indeed become united under one crown, but their sovereign ruled over some provinces that had once been Christian or Mohammedan principalities. Portugal had been hewn out of the side of the Castilian state. Incorporated with the Kingdom of Aragon was the region called Catalonia and also the Moslem principality of Valencia. In Aragon, and possibly to a less extent in Castile, former principalities retained their own customs, laws, and administrative systems. The marriage in 1469 of Princess Isabella, the leading claimant to the Castilian throne, to Prince Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Aragon—an event that was followed some years later by the recognition of Isabella's title as Queen of Castile, and by the accession of Ferdinand to the kingship of Aragon—united those kingdoms into a dyarchy.

Unifying Forces.—Subsequently several forces or events promoted the unification of Spain. Prominent among these were the masterful and gracious personalities of Ferdinand

and Isabella, "the Catholic Monarchs." The formation or adaptation of special institutions of government also stimulated unification. Spain's territorial unity was ensured by the conquest of Granada in 1492, by the acquisition of the border counties of Cerdagne and Roussillon, and by the conquest of Navarre. A spirit of religious unity was encouraged by the subjugation of the Moslems.

Increase of Royal Power.—During the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, 1479–1516, there took place a great increase of royal power. Their hands which sternly repressed rebellious nobles also checked the activity of legislative assemblies in Aragon and Castile. The Castilian Cortes—composed of representatives of clergy, nobles, and representatives of towns and cities—which had been developing into a bicameral legislature that suggested laws to the sovereign or endorsed his fiscal proposals, was gradually allowed to fall into disuse.

The Councils.—The central government exercised an increasing authority especially through the development of the royal council which was ordinarily called the Council of Castile. The factious barons, who had secured predominance in this council, were so reduced in number that control was virtually vested in officials and lawyers of the crown. This council was composed of about a dozen members. It advised the monarch about appointments, grants, and the patronage. In some matters it evidently proceeded upon its own authority. Acting as the supreme court of justice in Castile, it promoted centralization. With the increasing complexity of administration other councils came into existence: among these were the Council of Aragon, the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, and the Council of the Indies. The age of Ferdinand and Isabella has indeed been designated the age of councils.

Audiencias.—The Catholic Monarchs displayed a tendency to assign more and more of the judicial functions of the Council of Castile to a tribunal designated an *audiencia* that had served as the supreme court of the nation under the royal council. In 1480 the monarchs definitively established the seat of that tribunal at Valladolid and provided that it should have both civil and criminal jurisdic-

tion. Another *audiencia*, which was founded at Ciudad Real in 1494 and transferred to Granada in 1505, had jurisdiction over the southern portion of Spain, the Tagus River serving as a boundary line of the two *audiencias*. Subsequently a third *audiencia* was established in Galicia; and later *audiencias* were created in other sections of Spain. Yet the *audiencia* of Valladolid was considered the most important tribunal: it continued to enjoy the highest prestige. Its judges held their offices by royal appointment for one year. The royal prosecutor, who according to custom was a member of this tribunal, was frequently instructed to see that the prerogatives and revenues of the crown should be kept intact. In 1499 an elaborate ordinance made stipulations concerning the jurisdiction of Castilian *audiencias* and described the cases which they should consider.

Viceroy.—Another important institution—which developed largely under Aragonese auspices—was the viceroy. As early as 1323 the King of Aragon had appointed a viceroy to represent him in Sardinia. Although that official's term was strictly limited to three years, yet he was an almost absolute ruler under the crown, except in fiscal matters. In Sicily the Aragonese viceroy also played an important rôle, especially in judicial matters, and a practice developed of sending appeals from his decisions to Spain. More nearly the prototype of the viceroys later dispatched to the New World was the viceroy of Naples. Created early in the sixteenth century, he was aided in his administration by a special council that was dominated by Spaniards. In Castile the title of viceroy was sometimes given with that of governor to the rulers of outlying territories.

Captains General.—Two institutions of Castile deserve more than passing notice, the captain general and the *adelantado*. During the medieval age captains general or governors—as they were sometimes called—who were appointed directly by the King, controlled extensive territories in Castile. They exercised military, as well as civil, functions. In the thirteenth century the Castilian King suppressed the captains general and replaced them by agents called *adelan-*

tados, who were intrusted with more civil than military authority.

Adelantados.—Upon Alphonso de Lugo, who successfully completed the conquest of the Canary Islands, the Catholic Monarchs conferred about 1497 the title of *adelantado* of all the Canaries. That *adelantado* held the supreme political authority; and the office was declared to be hereditary in his family. It was one of his duties to distribute portions of land among his followers.

The Residencia.—The institution or process styled the *residencia* developed in Spain in the fifteenth century. Apparently this process was first applied to a royal official designated the *corregidor*. It became customary to require him to remain at his post for fifty days after his appointment had expired in order that complaints might be brought against him and justice dispensed. During the reign of the Catholic Monarchs that procedure was essentially modified. The period of the *residencia* was decreased to thirty days, and checks were provided to prevent evasion. A special judge was charged to make known the test to the inhabitants of the particular district. He was to search for the truth and to make a written report to the Council of Castile. Early in the reign of Charles I, 1516–1556, the *residencia* was applied to other royal officials, such as governors. This inquest was obviously intended to promote the efficiency and honesty of crown officials; and, in time, if not at once, it became another instrument of royal power.

Castilian Cities.—Municipal government in Castile had reached its highest development about the middle of the fourteenth century. That régime centered about the municipal assembly or council which made regulations for the management of the city. A *concejo* was usually composed of property owners or the heads of families within the city limits. It annually invested the magistrates of the city or town who sometimes held office by virtue of special privilege. The most important of the magistrates were the *regidores*, who acted as municipal overseers. *Alcaldes* served as judges in civil and criminal cases. An *alguacil* performed the functions of a police officer. The *alguacil mayor* led the city's soldiers to war, while the *alférez* carried the municipal standard. In

conjunction with various other officers, who performed minor duties, those magistrates were ordinarily styled the *ayuntamiento*.

Isabella's Reforms.—The decay of Castilian cities which was apparent upon the accession of Queen Isabella induced her to institute far-reaching reforms in the municipal régime. Isabella acquired control over the appointment of members of the *ayuntamiento* by placing their offices on sale. She increased the authority of the *corregidores* who after 1480 were sent out annually to inspect the cities. On June 9, 1500, a royal ordinance was issued which described the *corregidor's* functions in detail.

The Corregidor and the Visitador.—The *corregidor* was instructed that upon arriving in his district he was to guard against encroachments upon the privileges of the particular city. He was directed to exercise executive and police authority and to secure the impartial administration of justice to all men. In reality he served as the royal agent in a particular region. When the *corregidor* became rooted in a certain district the Catholic Monarchs established the custom of sending a *visitador* or inspector to examine into the administration of justice and finance.

Legal Codes.—Ferdinand and Isabella also promoted legal reforms. In the fourteenth century Alphonso X of Castile had codified the most important laws of his Kingdom in the *Fuero Real* or Royal Charter and had supervised the preparation of the *Siete Partidas* which was a compilation of Spanish, canon, and Roman law that was imbued with the spirit of Roman absolutism. To standardize the Spanish laws the Catholic Monarchs entrusted the task of collecting the ordinances and decrees that had been issued since the age of King Alphonso to a jurist named Díaz de Montalvo. During the years from 1480 to 1484 Montalvo prepared a collection of those decrees that was known as the *Ordenanzas Reales*. The "Ordinance of Montalvo," however, did not reconcile conflicts between the decrees and the codes. In response to protests at the ambiguity and confusion prevailing in the existing legislation of Spain, in 1505 the Cortes of Toro issued eighty-three interpretative laws which were ordinarily styled the *Leyes de Toro*. A thorough codification of Spanish law

was not completed, however, until the reign of Philip II, 1556-1598, when the code known as the *Nueva Recopilación* was promulgated.

Castilian Fueros.—In Castile the *fueros* were constituent elements of law. In a special sense a *fuero* meant a grant of privilege by a King to the inhabitants of a certain city or town. Although such grants were at times made to rural districts within the realm, yet they were more frequently conceded to promote the settlement of devastated regions which had just been torn from the Moslems. As those regions were located within a debatable land that was subject to hostile irruptions, special privileges were offered in the *fueros* to prospective settlers. Towns planted on the frontiers of Castile were generally invested by their charters with some autonomy. The *fuero* of a Castilian city in the borderlands was thus often a species of constitution. In time there was a tendency to make these charters conform to a general type: occasionally, as in France, the charter of a certain city was used as a model. A concession often made by a municipal *fuero* was the right to convoke a meeting of the inhabitants. This assembly directly or indirectly elected the *ayuntamiento*.

The Siege of Granada.—Most influential in its effects upon national unity was the crusade against the Moslems. From their impregnable stronghold in the Asturias, and from the Spanish March—subsequently designated Catalonia—the Spaniards during long centuries had driven the Moslems farther and farther south. In the spring of 1490 soldiers of Ferdinand and Isabella encamped upon the plain near the last Moslem stronghold—the city of Granada. During the winter of 1491-1492 they constructed a few miles west of Granada a fortified camp which they named Santa Fé. After some chivalric encounters between Christians and Moslems, negotiations for the surrender of Granada were begun in October, 1491. As a result of conferences between their commissioners, on November 25, 1491, the terms of the surrender of Granada were framed.

Its Capitulation.—The capitulation of Granada contained generous pledges to the vanquished. The Christians promised that the Moslems should be allowed to retain their religion, their mosques, their law, their property, and

their distinctive dress. For the time being, they were to be ruled by their own magistrates or by Jews who had held public office. The tribute that might be levied upon the vanquished people was restricted to certain specified taxes. Those Mohammedans who desired to leave Spain were to be provided with free transportation to northern Africa. They should be allowed to pass freely through Spanish territory without being molested in person or property. In no case should they be forced to become Christians. On January 2, 1492, the Alhambra was occupied by the jubilant soldiers of the Cross.

Annexation of Cerdagne and Roussillon.—The conquest of Granada was supplemented by the acquisition of Cerdagne and Roussillon. Upon the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella, Cerdagne and Roussillon were in the possession of the French King who had held them some thirty years; for John II of Aragon had transferred them to Louis XI for 300,000 crowns. By the Treaty of Barcelona in 1493 Charles VIII of France restored Cerdagne and Roussillon to Ferdinand and Isabella upon the condition that those monarchs should not make any matrimonial alliances with the King of the Romans without his consent, and further that they should deem themselves to be the enemies of all powers who should be at war with France, except the Papacy.

Of Navarre.—Lying like a saddlebag upon the Pyrenees, the little Kingdom of Navarre had been long coveted by both France and Spain. By treaties which were negotiated between 1476 and 1500 the Catholic Monarchs brought the rulers of that mountain Kingdom under their tutelage. The death in 1512 of Gaston de Foix, who claimed the Navarrese throne against the ruling dynasty of Albret, precipitated a crisis; for Gaston's claim passed to his sister Germaine, the second wife of Ferdinand. Louis XII of France accordingly felt compelled to negotiate a treaty at Blois with Jean d'Albret, king of Navarre. A false version of this treaty, which was fabricated by King Ferdinand, represented that it arranged for a joint attack by the Aragonese and French upon the Castilian borderlands. On July 21, 1512, a Spanish army consequently invaded

Navarre, Jean d'Albret fled, and the Duke of Alva captured Pamplona. To strengthen his claim the wily Ferdinand induced Pope Julius II to issue a bull of excommunication against the dynasty of Albret, declaring that it was deprived of its sovereign rights and that its subjects were absolved from their allegiance. In a Cortes at Burgos in 1515 Ferdinand solemnly declared that Navarre was incorporated with Castile. Before Ferdinand's death the entire peninsula—with the exception of Portugal—was thus united under one crown.

Effects of Unification.—The establishment of the territorial unity of Spain was bound to have great effects. Especially was this true of the much-heralded conquest of Granada. A crusade of centuries against the Moslems had deeply influenced the life and habits of the Spanish people. It had stimulated their military spirit at the frequent expense of the arts of peace. Near the borderlands Castilian cavaliers had oftentimes lodged under the same roof with their armed steeds, in order that they might sally forth promptly at the battle cry of *Sant Iago*. Although, as the Castilian arms spread southward, the arts of civilization revived and flourished within the regions that seemed secure from Moslem attack, yet the crusading spirit was kept alive. Spaniards of the upper class, especially nobles, came to view menial occupations as low and mean: they deemed that agriculture and manufactures should be left to captives, to serfs, and to the lower classes. The conquest of Granada intensified the deep religious spirit of Aragonese and Castilians. Trained to fight the battles of the Cross against the Crescent, they developed a proselyting ardor that was destined to endure long after the fall of Granada. Out of long experience the Castilian language gained a proverb: namely, that Spaniards who wished to make their fortunes should seek the Church, the sea, or the King's house.

The Inquisition in Spain.—The intense religious spirit engendered by the Moslem crusade stimulated the activity of the Inquisition. That institution had been established in Aragon and Navarre in 1238. There it was used against

heretics and Moslems who had ostensibly accepted the Catholic faith. Soon after their accession Ferdinand and Isabella decided to introduce the Inquisition into Castile. Their ambassador at the Holy See persuaded Pope Sixtus IV to grant them extraordinary powers. A bull of November, 1478, authorized Ferdinand and Isabella to appoint inquisitors who were given jurisdiction over heretics. Two years later a tribunal of this so-called "New Inquisition" was installed at Seville. Inquisitorial tribunals were subsequently located at other Castilian cities, while tribunals of the "Old Inquisition" in various parts of Spain were revived or reënforsed. Meantime the Pope authorized the creation of a Council of the Inquisition, which was given jurisdiction over all matters concerning the faith, and which ultimately established its independence of the Holy See.

Its Influence.—Under the direction of Tomás de Torquemada, the Spanish Inquisition soon became an instrument of religious repression and persecution. In theory the only persons exempted from its jurisdiction were the bishops. Through its rigorous procedure, its unfair rules of evidence, its ubiquitous familiars and other agents, and its edict of faith—which made every person a spy upon his neighbor—it tried to extirpate heresy from the soil of Spain. It was used particularly against those Jews and Moors who professed Christianity. Besides its attempts to eradicate unorthodox belief, the Inquisition exercised a censorship over books and manuscripts which had a stifling effect upon freedom of thought.

Church Organization.—The Spanish Church had generally discarded the ritual used by its communicants in the Gothic age and had adopted the ritual approved by Rome. In 1492 there were in Spain seven archbishoprics and forty bishoprics. At the head of the regular clergy of each diocese was a bishop, who was subject to the supervision of an archbishop and of Papal legates. Spanish priests possessed the *fuero* or right known as "benefit of clergy," which entitled them to exemption from civil jurisdiction, at least in religious cases. From time to time councils were held by the clergy of dioceses and provinces.

Religious Orders.—Various religious orders played influential rôles in Spanish life. At the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella two orders were especially important, the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The Franciscans were accustomed to make pilgrimages while begging alms and preaching repentance. The Dominicans—who had been founded by St. Dominic for the purpose of converting the Albigensians—were especially interested in the extirpation of unorthodox belief. In the latter part of the thirteenth century there were in Spain some two thousand Dominican and Franciscan monasteries. In addition there were monasteries of Benedictines. Possibly the most important order of all, the Company or Society of Jesus, was founded after the death of King Ferdinand. Eventually the militant Jesuits developed many interests: they supported the Papal prerogative, strove to uproot heresy, founded seminaries and colleges, and planted missions.

Wealth of the Clergy.—Not only were the clergy, regular and secular, exempt from the jurisdiction of the state in some matters; but they were, on the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella, also exempt from the payment of certain taxes. Against this practice of immunity, which often became a glaring abuse, the Catholic Monarchs set their faces. They prohibited archbishops and bishops from engrossing national revenues. They tried to prevent certain religious orders from obtaining bequests of property from wealthy laymen. For by such methods the Church of Spain had acquired control of immense remunerative properties. In the age of Ferdinand and Isabella Spanish writers declared that the archbishop of Toledo had a revenue of some 80,000 ducats, that the total income of the secular clergy amounted to 4,000,000 ducats and that the regular clergy was equally rich.

Immorality.—Partly as a result of their opulence, and partly as an inheritance from Moslem days, members of the regular clergy frequently kept concubines. In 1478 an ecclesiastical assembly denounced the scandalous lives of some monks. Two years later the Catholic Monarchs confirmed a previous law prescribing punishments for con-

cubinage: for the first offense, a fine; for the second, exile; and for the third, one hundred lashes. The great Franciscan Cardinal Ximenes visited the monasteries of his order and punished violators of that law remorselessly. Three or four hundred Franciscans consequently emigrated to Africa, where they embraced the Mohammedan faith. Queen Isabella tried to improve the morals of the secular clergy by a deliberate and sustained effort to select those ecclesiastics from townsmen and lesser nobles.

Church and State under Catholic Monarchs.—By the establishment of the New Inquisition the Catholic Monarchs acquired an influence over religious officials who were charged with the persecution of heretics. Ultra-Catholic though they were, they exalted their authority at the expense of the Papacy. At the time of their accession the Pope exercised the right to appoint ecclesiastics—some of whom were foreigners—to vacant sees in Spain. During a dispute over an appointment to a vacancy in the bishopric of Cuenca, however, the Catholic Monarchs asserted the prerogative of the crown to make such appointments and secured from Pope Sixtus IV an acknowledgment of their right to make nominations to important ecclesiastical sees that might fall vacant. As a matter of course, the Pope appointed such nominees. By engrossing the rents of nominees who were displeasing to them and in other ways, Ferdinand and Isabella succeeded in obtaining control over the appointment of candidates to smaller benefices. As a reward for their services in the crusade against the Moslems, the Pope conceded to those monarchs the right of patronage over all the churches of the former Kingdom of Granada.

Under the House of Austria.—It was only a logical result of the policy pursued by Ferdinand and Isabella that under monarchs of the House of Austria, who came into power in 1516, the Pope was compelled to agree that no bulls should be published by his nuncio in Spain without the consent of the Spanish King. The tendency to increase the power of the King in ecclesiastical matters at the expense of the Pope became stronger and stronger. Ulti-

mately the ideal which the Catholic Monarchs had cherished of a strong national church under royal control was well-nigh realized.

Influence of the Church.—The Church had a pervasive effect upon Spanish life and customs which was possibly most noticeable under the Austrian monarchs. Despite legal prohibitions, many large estates fell into her hands. Many able-bodied men withdrew from industrial occupations to live a cloistered life. The religious spirit was partly responsible for an increase in the number of feast days that reduced the industrial productiveness of the Spanish people. Not without justification have Spaniards of the era of discovery and colonization been accused of excessive religiousness.

The Population of Spain.—Exact figures regarding the population of Spain upon the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella are not available. The Spanish economist Colmeiro estimated the population of Spain under the Catholic Monarchs at 10,000,000, which seems excessively high. A German historian figured that there were in Castile 7,500,000 and in Aragon only 1,000,120 inhabitants—a calculation which certainly did not properly distribute the population between the two kingdoms. In 1482 Alfonso de Quintanilla reported to the Catholic Monarchs that there were, exclusive of Granada, 1,500,000 resident property holders in Castile. With an estimate that the relative proportion of resident property holders to inhabitants was one to four, the total population of Castile would be 6,000,000. Estimating the population of Granada and the eastern kingdom at 1,500,000 or 2,000,000, a total for Spain is reached of 7,500,000 or 8,000,000, which is presumably rather high. The Spanish historian Altamira holds that in 1594 the inhabitants of Spain, which by that date had annexed Portugal as well as Navarre, numbered some 8,000,000 souls.

Upper Class.—The chief social strata in Spain were the upper, middle, and lower classes. The upper class was composed of nobles and higher clergy. Despite the weakening of its power and prestige by the monarchs the upper class continued to enjoy large privileges. Its members

possessed enormous properties, upon which there lived numerous peasants in a servile condition. Many nobles and ecclesiastics lived in castles or other mansions with stores of gold and silver plate and jewels and with stables that were well filled. The most frequent noble titles were count, duke, and marquis. Among the lower nobility the most common title was *hijodalgo* or simply *caballero*. All of those nobles enjoyed numerous privileges, such as exemption from certain taxes.

Middle Class.—Under the Catholic Monarchs the position of the middle class was improved in various ways. The increasing attention paid to commerce and industry encouraged some members of the lower nobility to enter the ranks of the mercantile class; while, on the other hand, the movement of emancipated peasants from the lower into the middle class—which was under way before the accession of Isabella—went on at a rapid pace. A royal ordinance of 1480 confirmed to Castilian peasants the right to leave the estates of nobles and to take with them their own properties and products.

Lower Class.—In Aragon, especially in Catalonia, where feudal or quasi-feudal customs had secured a firmer root than elsewhere in Spain, the serfs secured their emancipation with more difficulty. By virtue of a decision rendered by King Ferdinand in 1486, however, the services due from Aragonese peasants to their lords were replaced by money payments; and emancipated serfs were placed under the King's jurisdiction. A firm basis was thus laid for a class of free peasants.

Occupations.—In general, the nobles either held offices or dwelt upon their hereditary estates. Ordinarily they viewed all manual labor with contempt. The main occupations of the lower classes were agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and sheep-raising. Over these occupations the Spanish sovereigns exercised a supervision that was paternalistic. In 1500 they made the senior member of the Council of Castile the president of the *Mesta* or guild of sheep owners. His duty was to manage the affairs of that guild and to act as a link between it and the crown. Further, the Catholic Monarchs caused new regu-

lations to be framed for its administration. Accordingly the *Mesta* had the support of the crown in its contentions with the agricultural interests of Castile. The extension of the privileges enjoyed by the *Mesta* in the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries indicated that agriculture was on the decline. At times there was apparently a lack of agricultural produce in Castile and many fields lay untilled. To an extent agriculture was also injured by the increased interest which developed in manufactures.

Economic Tendencies.—Granada, Seville, Córdoba, Toledo, Segovia, and León became flourishing centers of industry. Seville and Córdoba became noted for the manufacture of arms, especially swords. Silk manufactures flourished in the southern cities. To promote the manufacture of woolen cloth the Catholic Monarchs decreed that not over two-thirds of the wool produced in Spain should be exported, and that woolen cloth should not be imported. They also tried to influence commercial development. With the exception of municipal dues, internal customs within Castile were abolished. Foreigners were strictly prohibited from taking gold or silver out of Castile. In 1500 the exportation of merchandise in foreign vessels from a Spanish port was forbidden, if there were Castilian vessels in the same harbor. Subsidies were offered to persons who constructed ships of six hundred tons burden. Castilian commercial agents were scattered through many foreign countries. In important cities merchants selected officials called consuls who undertook to settle disputes about commercial matters. As a result the crown undertook to establish institutions called consulates. These were local councils composed of merchants who were empowered by royal grant to make regulations to promote commerce and even to try cases relating to trade. A model grant of this sort was made by Ferdinand and Isabella on June 21, 1494, to the merchants of Burgos.

Quasi-feudal Conditions.—Although feudalism scarcely existed in the Iberian Peninsula as it did in France, yet in certain parts of Spain conditions existed which partook of a feudal character. This was especially true of Cata-

lonia, where estates were held of the Aragonese King by a quasi-feudal tenure. Ordinarily, however, in medieval Spain lands were not held upon condition of military service; the functions of government were not partitioned out as in a feudal state; and the government was not organized in hierarchical form. The relations existing between a lord and his vassal were often personal rather than feudal or semi-feudal. Yet at this epoch there existed in Spain large estates which were regularly tilled by a vassal peasantry or by peasants who were just emerging from serfdom. Even in Castile small proprietors and free peasants sometimes commended themselves to the protection of a neighboring noble by a practice that was designated the *encomienda*.

Repartimientos.—A practice that developed hand in hand with the reconquest of Spain is worthy of special notice. This was the custom of dividing lands among the followers of the conquering kings. As early as the conquest of the Balearic Islands by James I of Aragon in 1230, the practice was adopted of partitioning among the conquistadors the land which was taken from the Moslems. King James followed the same custom when he subdued the Mohammedan Kingdom of Valencia. Strips of land which he allotted to his followers in regions taken from the infidels were termed *repartimientos*. In their conquests of the principalities of Murcia and Seville a similar policy was adopted by Castilian monarchs: the lands, as well as the estates and houses vacated by the Moslems, were divided among Christian cavaliers. Presumably captive Moslems and their serfs were at times transferred with the partitioned lands.

The Jews.—For many years before the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella the Jews had played an important rôle in the social and intellectual life of Spain. Either because of the growing spirit of unity or because of the increase in crusading fervor, racial and religious antagonism toward the Jews increased rapidly in Spain during the fifteenth century. Frequent attempts were made to convert them to Christianity. Jews who were converted by force were often contemptuously designated "Marranos."

In 1479 and 1480 the Cortes renewed obsolete laws concerning the Jews. They were prohibited from wearing silk dresses and jewels. They were ordered to live in separate quarters in the towns and cities; and their relations with the Christians were restricted in divers ways.

Their Expulsion.—Apparently the expulsion of the Jews from Andalusia was seriously considered by Queen Isabella about 1480. Not until after the fall of Granada, however, did Ferdinand and Isabella make their momentous decision. In March, 1492, a decree was promulgated which provided for the expulsion of professed Jews from the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon within three months. The motive adduced for this extreme measure was the great injury caused the Christians by their relations with the Jews; it was alleged that Jews had seduced many Spaniards from the Catholic faith. The decree provided that the Jews might sell or dispose of their movable property freely; they were declared to be under the royal protection; but they were prohibited from taking gold or silver with them. Baptism apparently precluded expulsion. Soon there fled to Africa, Italy, and Portugal a multitude of Jews who, according to a conservative estimate, numbered about 165,000. About 20,000 died because of mistreatment. In all, Spain lost some 185,000 inhabitants: physicians, scholars, farmers, skillful artisans—the best types that she could possess.

The Moslems and the Moriscos.—The solution of another racial and religious problem again carries this account into the age of the Austrian monarchs. Despite the provisions concerning the Moslems in the capitulation of Granada, the Spaniards soon made attempts to convert them by force. Some additions were thus made to the so-called Moriscos or converted Moslems. A commission appointed by Charles I decided that Moslems who had been baptized should be considered as Christians.

The Development of Antagonism.—In April, 1525, King Charles issued a decree approving this decision and declaring that any mosque in which mass had once been celebrated became thereby a Christian church. Meantime, the Papacy stimulated antagonism to the unconverted

Moslems who were denominated Mudéjares. In November, 1525—despite the opposition of some nobles—the King issued a decree announcing that within a short time all Mudéjares who would not accept the Catholic faith should be expelled from Spain unless they wished to become slaves. As a result many Mudéjares were converted, some arose in revolts which were rudely suppressed, while others fled to Africa. Mosques were shut, Korans were burned, Mudéjares in the legal sense disappeared, and only Moriscoes remained in the Spanish dominions. The suspicious Spaniards soon enforced against the Moriscoes, however, many restrictive laws that had been enacted under the Catholic Monarchs. Prohibitions were laid upon Mohammedan dress, customs, and religious practices. Moriscoes were even enjoined not to enter the ancient Kingdom of Granada. The Inquisition was set into vigorous operation against the proscribed class. A law of 1572 provided for the preparation in each community of a register of free and slave Moriscoes who should not be allowed to leave their homes without a royal permit. In each community there was to be named a superintendent of Moriscoes, who should closely observe their mode of life. Yet even this rigorous law did not prove effective, while Spanish dread of an attack by Moriscoes aided by Mohammedans from northern Africa did not decrease.

Expulsion of the Moriscoes.—After the age of Philip II many schemes were formed for the disposal of the Moriscoes. Among them were the following projects: a general massacre, destruction at sea, deportation to America, annihilation through the Inquisition, and segregation in a special district. Although violently opposed by nobles who employed the industrious Moriscoes on their estates, there steadily forged to the front as a radical solution the expulsion of the hated class. At last, in 1609, an edict was issued providing for the expulsion of the Moriscoes from Valencia and portions of Castile. The edict—which resembled the decree for the expulsion of the Jews—was later applied to other sections of Spain. Because of this barbarous edict some five hundred thousand Moriscoes

sold or disposed of their properties and sailed from Spanish ports. In an age when population was declining, and when interest in the industrial arts was decaying, Spain thus deprived herself of a class similar to the Jews whom she had banished in 1492. Not only did she drive those industrious classes from her shores; but, unlike England, she persistently strove to exclude them from her vast, unpopulated dominions oversea.

Portugal Achieves Independence.—At many points the history of Portugal resembles that of Spain. Portucalia, the nucleus of medieval Portugal, developed from a grant of land made by the King of León about 1095 to a Burgundian adventurer. More than two hundred years of crusade against the Moslems, which were complicated by struggles against the suzerainty of Castile, resulted in the formation of a Portuguese nationality. In the thirteenth century Portuguese crusaders completed the conquest of a region called the Algarve. On April 6, 1385, a Côrtes which had been convoked to settle the succession to the throne elected John, a natural brother of the deceased King Ferdinand and a brave crusader, as king of Portugal. On August 14 of the same year at the battle of Aljubarrota the Portuguese, who were aided by English archers, decisively defeated an invading Castilian army and thus sealed Portugal's independence from Spain.

King John I.—The reign of John I was an introduction to the Golden Age of Portugal. On May 9, 1386, a treaty was signed at Windsor which declared that Portugal and England were allied forever. In the following February, John the Great of Portugal was married to Philippa, daughter of the English prince, John of Gaunt. That ceremony has been said to mark the birth of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. During John's reign the Portuguese language was introduced into the courts of law. The calendar was changed from the Augustan era to the Christian. Lisbon became the metropolis of the Portuguese Empire.

Portuguese Political Institutions.—Portuguese kingship was at the same time hereditary and elective. The daughters, as well as the sons of the King, were eligible to the

throne. In Portugal the Côrtes was convoked by the King to furnish advice when circumstances demanded. The clergy, the nobility, and the representatives of towns and cities deliberated together and unanimity was necessary for an agreement. Upon the accession of John I, a long and strenuous conflict between Church and State had terminated; for in 1361 an agreement had been reached between the contending interests by which the ecclesiastical authority was confirmed in everything that was not contrary to the royal prerogative.

The Portuguese Nobility.—Still, the clergy played a most important part in Portuguese politics. The nobles, originally composed of persons styled *ricoshomens* and *infanções*, were very numerous. During the crusade against the Moslems the Portuguese kings had made to the nobles numerous grants of land which carried with them special political and judicial privileges of a semi-feudal nature. As in Castile, charters granted by the kings to towns and cities constituted their organic laws. But Portugal's municipalities did not enjoy so much autonomy as those of Castile: they were carefully watched by royal officers and powerful prelates.

Portuguese Law.—Portuguese law found its origins in the Roman law, the Visigothic code, the Church decretals, and the regulations of the King and the Côrtes. The chancellor of John I, started the work of codification which was continued by João Mendes. The *Livro das leis e posturas* of Mendes, which was published near the opening of the fifteenth century, constituted an important source of later codes. The Ordinances of Duarte, which were completed mainly by Ruy Fernandez in 1436, constituted another source. During the reign of Alphonso V those two compilations, supplemented by customary law, municipal charters, concordats with the Papacy, judicial decisions, and royal ordinances, formed the basis of a famous code that was called the *Ordenações Affonsinas*. Early in the sixteenth century King Manuel appointed jurists to prepare a new code which was based upon the Ordinances of Alfonso and supplemented by subsequent laws. That revised code—published in 1514—was designated the Manueline Ordinances.

After the conquest of Portugal by Philip II in 1580, he directed that the laws of King Manuel should be revised by jurists. This compilation, which was based upon the *Ordenações Affonsinas* and *Ordenações Manuelinas*, with the addition of laws subsequently issued, was promulgated by King Philip II of Spain on January 11, 1603. It was designated the *Ordenações Philippinas*.

Land Tenure.—In Portugal, as in Spain, kings had followed the custom of distributing among their followers the territory which was conquered from the Moslems. During the age of John I, Portuguese lands were largely held by ecclesiastics or nobles to whom they had been given by royal favor. Other portions of Portugal had been granted by charters to communes or municipalities, while the rest of the land remained under the direct control of the King. Residents upon royal estates were nobles or tenants. The King was the direct proprietor of the mines and the seaports. He paid the expenses of his government with the income from his estates and the revenues arising from navigation duties.

Quasi-feudal Conditions.—A large part of Portuguese soil was held by members of the upper nobility to whom it had been granted by the kings either in return for services or to secure their support. Occasionally those lands had been granted within Portucalia; but more often they had been carved out of regions that were conquered from the Moslems. Ecclesiastics or nobles who were thus favored were often called *donatarios*. Although in theory the Portuguese King might revoke the land grants at pleasure, yet in practice he had little control over them; and their limits were frequently extended by aggressive nobles. Even in the reign of John I—who strove to strengthen the royal authority over those semi-feudal estates—noble landowners were ordinarily exempt from the payment of certain taxes; they exercised a large amount of judicial authority, and acted as the military chieftains of their tenants.

Portuguese Ecclesiastics.—Despite the limitations placed upon the power of the clergy by the treaty of 1361, ecclesiastics still exercised a large amount of authority in

Portugal. They frequently belonged to the King's council and played an important rôle in the Côrtes. Early in the sixteenth century the King's chaplain became the head of the Portuguese Church: he was later recognized as the patriarch of Lisbon.

Portuguese Cities.—The Portuguese King had thus established his supremacy over the Church before his subjects began to plant settlements in Brazil. Portuguese municipalities did not possess so much autonomy as the Castilian cities. For the kings, as well as the nobles and the clergy, had infringed upon their rights and privileges. The *foraes* or charters of privileges that had been given to municipalities in return for services against the Moslems ordinarily granted them certain administrative and judicial rights. Among those was the right to send delegates to the Côrtes. During the fifteenth century royal judges called *juizes da fóra* displaced judges who had been elected by the inhabitants of the chartered district; while other royal officials who were designated *corregedores* undertook to interfere in local affairs. The inhabitants of a municipality ordinarily belonged to three groups: the serfs, the middle classes, and the members of the lower nobility.

The Population of Portugal.—A Portuguese historian has estimated that, on the eve of the great discoveries, the total population of Portugal was about one million souls. The main occupation was agriculture; but some attention was paid to commerce and mining. As in Spain, the long and bitter struggle against the Moslems had engendered, especially among the upper classes, a dislike for menial occupations and a love for warlike adventure.

Moslems and Jews.—The Mohammedans and the Jews of Portugal were not treated exactly like their Spanish brethren. Conquered Moslems apparently did not constitute so distinct an element in Portugal, although presumably more traces of Mohammedan blood were found to the south than to the north of the Tagus River. Jews, however, belonged to a separate class. Active and enterprising, they were viewed with disdain and envy by the proud Portuguese. They were often forced to live in special quarters in the towns and cities. They did not

always enjoy the same rights before the law as did their Christian neighbors. John I secured a bull from the Pope which aimed to protect the Jews of Portugal from persecution. During his reign they could only be held responsible by Jewish magistrates for offenses against the civil and the criminal law. By virtue of this guardianship and of their own ability Jews at times held important positions in the government of Portugal. A large part of her foreign commerce fell into their hands.

Their Expulsion.—It was reserved for King Emmanuel "the Fortunate," who desired to unite the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula under one scepter, to decide the fate of unbaptized Jews and Moslems. About 1496—to please the Catholic Monarchs—King Emmanuel issued orders for the expulsion of the Jews. Members of that unfortunate race were compelled either to depart from Portuguese soil within six months and to dispose of their interests and their properties or to become Christians. With numerous Jews that were expelled there went also some unbaptized Moslems, who had fled into Portugal from Spain. To persecute the Jews who had professed Christianity in order that they might remain in Portugal in 1536 a tribunal of the Holy Office was erected at Lisbon. To a less extent perhaps than in Spain did the Inquisition in Portugal exert a blighting influence upon the life and development of the people. Four years after the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition, the Jesuit order was introduced into Portugal where it soon acquired the control of educational institutions.

Summary.—The two nations that inhabited the Iberian Peninsula in the later Middle Ages had many resemblances. Although there were some local variations, yet similar or identical strains of blood mingled in the veins of Spanish and Portuguese. Political tendencies in Spain and Portugal had encouraged the growth of royal power. Spanish and Portuguese governmental systems mirrored the King's prerogative. Institutions like the *ayuntamiento*, the *audiencia*, and the viceroy furnished the Spaniards, at least, with materials for the fabric of a colonial system. In both Spain and Portugal there prevailed a system of

landholding which was based essentially upon the existence of large estates that were tilled by a vassal peasantry. The policy pursued toward the Jews and the Moslems had an injurious effect upon industry and commerce, especially in Spain, while the ubiquitous activities of the Inquisition checked freedom of thought and intellectual progress. Because of the geographical location of Spain and Portugal, because of the rooted dislike of Spaniards and Portuguese for menial occupations, and because of the termination of the arduous crusade against the Moslems, in the end of the fifteenth century the upper classes in the Iberian Peninsula were seeking for new domains to conquer. At a juncture when conditions for colonization in the Iberian Kingdoms were far from being so auspicious as they were in contemporary England, it was the audacious enterprise of Columbus, of Cabral, and of their followers that gave adventurous cavaliers a chance to enter upon a new crusade far beyond the Pillars of Hercules. More or less unwittingly they thus undertook to transplant Iberian customs and institutions in strange lands beyond the Atlantic.

CHAPTER III

DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST

“Prince Henry the Navigator” of Portugal.—The discovery of the New World by Columbus was foreshadowed by the maritime achievements of the Portuguese. Among princes and scholars who prepared the way for the Great Genoese the name of Prince Henry is preëminent. In the prime of life, Henry, the son of King John I of Portugal, relinquished the prospect of military fame and devoted himself to the advancement of geographical knowledge, the planting of colonies, and the expansion of commerce. Under his guidance Portuguese sailors and navigators were trained for exploration. Portugal's growing interest in Africa directed his attention to that continent.

African Explorations of the Portuguese.—A beginning was made by the successive rediscovery by sailors under the Portuguese flag of certain islands along the African coast that had been known to the ancient world. Near the end of the second decade of the fifteenth century mariners from Portugal reached the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira. About 1432 Portuguese navigators discovered the island of Santa Maria in the Azores. About 1434 Gil Eannes sailed past Cape Bojador. Prince Henry had planted a colony in the distant Azores by 1443; and about that time Portuguese sailors doubled Cape Verde. In 1486 Bartholomew Dias rounded the southern extremity of Africa which he named Stormy Cape; but upon his return to Portugal King John II designated it the Cape of Good Hope.

Vasco da Gama.—In 1496 King Manuel decided to give the chief command of an exploring expedition to Vasco da Gama. Four vessels were carefully prepared and equipped for a voyage to the Indies. On July 8, 1497, bearing the pilot who had accompanied Dias, the fleet

sailed from Portugal. About four months later Da Gama passed the farthest point that Dias had reached. On Christmas Day Da Gama caught sight of land which he called Natal. Early in March, 1498, he anchored off the island of Mozambique, about May 17 he sighted the highlands of India, and a few days later he anchored before Calicut. Da Gama had thus reached India by sailing around Africa. A Portuguese geographer attributed this significant achievement to the divine inspiration of "Prince Henry the Navigator."

Cabral Discovers Brazil.—Within a year after the return of Da Gama, King Manuel intrusted a noble named Pedro Alvares Cabral with an expedition to Calicut to establish commercial relations with India. Accompanied by the most skillful seamen, with a fleet of thirteen ships that were armed with artillery and laden with presents, Cabral set sail early in March, 1500. His fleet took the beaten route down the African coast until Cape Verde had been passed. Then, either because of unfavorable weather or because of curiosity aroused by reports of the achievements of Columbus, Cabral took a westerly course with the hope of making a discovery. On April 22, 1500, he caught sight of a mountain peak in South America. He supposed the land discovered to be an island and named it Vera Cruz—a name which was later changed to Brazil because a dye wood found there resembled the Brazil wood brought from the Orient. Cabral formally took possession of the new land in the name of Portugal; and, on May 1, he set up a large cross to commemorate the event.

Results of Portuguese Exploration.—Largely because of the teachings and the inspiration of Prince Henry, the African coasts had thus been explored, Cape Hope had been rounded, the sea route to India and the far East disclosed, and Brazil discovered. The Portuguese claim to Brazil rested partly upon Cabral's discovery. In words which seem exaggerated a Brazilian has said that Cabral discovered for Portugal a land as large as Europe and richer than India. There is no doubt that from the explorations of the Portuguese, Christopher Columbus received a definite stimulus. His son Ferdinand declared

that it was in Portugal that Columbus began to surmise that if Portuguese navigators could sail so far south, he might also sail west and discover lands in that direction.

Early Career of Columbus.—Few characters in history have been the subject of so much controversy as Columbus. More than a dozen towns have claimed to be the place of his birth. It is now generally agreed, however, that Christopher Columbus, the son of an Italian woolen weaver, was born in Genoa. Two careful investigators took the view that Columbus was born in 1446 or 1447. More recently a critical scholar named Henry Vignaud presented evidence to show that the great Genoese was born in 1451. Columbus probably attended the schools of Genoa and learned the weaver's trade. Vignaud declares that he did not enter upon a seafaring career until he was more than twenty years of age.

Influences Affecting Columbus.—However that may be, Columbus was affected by the spirit of his age. He eventually learned about the scientific equipment of a navigator: the astrolabe, the compass, sea charts, and tables of declination. He may have been influenced by the writings of Pierre d'Ailly, who in a volume entitled *Imago Mundi* had collected the sayings of the ancients concerning the size and the sphericity of the earth. A belief was current for many years that Columbus received a decisive impulse from the celebrated Florentine scientist Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli, who was supposed to have sent him letters and a map that served as sailing directions. Vignaud has presented strong reasons for the view, however, that those letters were forged by Bartholomew Columbus to destroy the story that his brother Christopher was inspired to make the voyage because of a tale told him by an obscure mariner regarding new lands to the west.

Columbus in Portugal.—About 1476 Columbus took up his residence in Portugal. He made voyages to Guinea and to the British Isles and became acquainted with Portuguese navigators. He soon married the daughter of a Portuguese who had been governor of the island of Porto Santo. Papers left by his father-in-law, which came into

his hands about 1480 or 1481, evidently reënforced whatever notions Columbus may have gathered from books, savants, and pilots concerning exploration. From those papers he seems to have received a definite idea that west of the Canaries and the Cape Verde Islands there existed unknown lands.

His Petition to John II.—In 1483 or 1484 Columbus presented a petition to King John II of Portugal. According to the most reliable chronicler of Columbus, the latter proposed to lead an expedition in a westerly direction in order to discover populous islands and mainlands that were rich in gold, silver, and precious stones. Columbus evidently petitioned the Portuguese monarch to equip a fleet of three vessels with supplies for one year. He solicited the title of grand admiral, the viceregal power, and the perpetual governmental control over all lands that might be discovered. Among other conditions he asked to be assigned one-tenth of the products of those lands. King John II submitted the project to a group of scholars who, because of the extent of the demands, or because of supposed errors in the petitioner's calculations, or because of other reasons, rejected the proposals. In the end of 1484 or early in 1485 Columbus accordingly left Portugal to seek his fortune in Spain, while his brother Bartholomew undertook a mission to England.

Columbus in Spain.—Soon after landing in Spain, Columbus visited the Franciscan monastery of La Rabida. He then proceeded to Seville where the Duke of Medina Sidonia and the Count of Medina Celi became interested in his plan. Apparently he held his first interview with Ferdinand and Isabella at Córdoba in 1486. Four years later a commission formally disapproved of the proposals of the Genoese, evidently expressing the opinion that they were illusory and impracticable. As the monarchs seemed to be engrossed in the conflict with the Moslems, he reluctantly decided to appeal to France. Yet the intervention of faithful friends—notably of a navigator named Alonzo Martín Pinzón—induced Queen Isabella to grant Columbus another hearing. At Santa Fé a new commis-

sion considered his proposals. Again the decision was against the Genoese, who sadly took leave of the Catholic Monarchs. The chancellor of Aragon, Luis de Santangel, then persuaded the Queen to support the enterprise. On April 17, 1492, an agreement between Columbus and the Catholic Monarchs was signed at Santa Fé.

The Capitulations of Santa Fé.—The so-called capitulations of Santa Fé provided that Columbus and his heirs were to have the hereditary office of admiral in all islands and lands that might be discovered or acquired by him or through his industry. Columbus was also to be the viceroy and governor-general over such lands; he was conceded the right to nominate candidates for the chief magistracies of the islands and provinces so discovered. He was to have one-tenth of the pearls, precious stones, and spices that might be found, bought, bartered, or gained within the newly discovered lands. He or his lieutenant should have sole power to judge all disputes about commercial relations between those regions and Spain. The admiral should be allowed to contribute one-eighth of the expense of any subsequent expedition and should get one-eighth of the accruing profit. To judge by the capitulations, the object of Columbus was to discover and to take possession of certain islands and lands in the Atlantic Ocean concerning which he had evidently secured information.

The First Voyage of Columbus.—Of the total cost of the expedition, which Vignaud estimated at two million maravedis, the Spanish monarchs furnished about one-half. A fraction of the cost, possibly not more than one-eighth, was advanced by Columbus probably from loans, while the remainder seems to have been supplied by his friends. It is accordingly clear that the expedition of Columbus, although patronized and supported by the state, was not a purely governmental enterprise. Through orders of the Catholic Monarchs urging compliance with the capitulations, and by the aid of Pinzón, he ultimately succeeded in securing and equipping three caravels, the "Niña," the "Pinta," and the "Santa María." With this small fleet, manned by about one hundred and twenty

men, Columbus sailed out of the harbor of Palos on August 3, bound for the Canaries. Thence he struck westward across the Atlantic, and after many bickerings, doubts, and discouragements, upon the evening of October 11, his sailors were inspirited by detecting a faint light.

Discovery of San Salvador and Santo Domingo.—The dawn of the following day revealed the outlines of an island that was called by the aborigines Guanahani or Guanaham. This island—which the best scholars have identified with what is now called Watling's Island—Columbus named San Salvador. Whatever ideas the Genoese may originally have entertained about his object, he now evidently thought that he had reached the Indies. He called the inhabitants Indians and entertained notions that he would soon behold the Great Khan. After the admiral reached Cuba, he sent two of his followers to seek for that Oriental potentate. Then he sailed to an island which, because of a fancied resemblance to Spain, he named Española—an isle later called Santo Domingo. The "Santa María" was wrecked upon the coast of that island, where Columbus undertook to plant a colony. After laying the foundations of a fort, and leaving some forty men there, in January, 1493, Columbus sailed for the Iberian Peninsula, taking with him a few Indians and some ornaments of gold.

Columbus Returns to the Iberian Peninsula.—In March he arrived at Lisbon where a report that he had reached the Indies caused great excitement. It soon became apparent that the Portuguese were jealous of Columbus. John II evidently took the view that the newly-discovered lands were within the territory of Guinea which had been assigned to him by the Pope, but resolved to bide his time. On March 15 Columbus reached Palos. From Seville he proceeded to Barcelona where he was graciously received by the Catholic Monarchs who asked him to sit beside them upon an improvised throne. Columbus was given a coat of arms upon which the legend was later inscribed, "For Castile and León Columbus found a New World."

The Pope's Demarcation Line.—Meantime Pope Alexander VI had been asked to define the rights of Spain. Accordingly in April, 1493, he framed a bull declaring in vague phraseology that John II should enjoy the rights that had been granted to Portugal by his predecessors from Cape Bojador towards Guinea and beyond, while Ferdinand and Isabella should enjoy the exclusive right to all lands and islands discovered or to be discovered in the West toward the Indies in the Ocean Sea. Probably because of objections by the Spanish monarchs—who had heard the tale of Columbus—that bull was soon superseded by another bull dated May 4. This bull granted to Ferdinand and Isabella all lands found or to be found to the west and the south toward India and toward all other regions that had not been occupied by any Christian prince prior to Christmas, 1492. It also drew an imaginary line, north and south, one hundred leagues west and south of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, that was to mark the limits beyond which no foreigner should proceed without permission from Spain. Portugal was thus restricted to territory east of this line. In September another bull stipulated that anterior occupation of lands by other Christian powers than Spain should not constitute a valid title; and it specifically provided that Ferdinand and Isabella should have the title to lands which they might discover in India.

Treaty of Tordesillas.—King John was not satisfied with that adjustment. Commissioners were accordingly appointed by the contending nations; and at Tordesillas on June 7, 1494, they signed a convention. The Treaty of Tordesillas provided that the demarcation line should be drawn three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands: lands found to the east of that line should belong to Portugal, while lands to the west should be the property of Spain. This demarcation line crossed the continent of South America near the mouth of the Amazon. In conjunction with Cabral's discovery, it secured for Portugal the title to Brazil.

Other Voyages of Columbus.—The three remaining voyages of Columbus will be briefly described. During

his second voyage, which was made from 1493 to 1496, he explored Cuba and discovered Jamaica. Upon his third voyage in 1498, he caught sight of the island of Trinidad and coasted along what proved to be the mainland of South America, passing the mouth of the Orinoco River. Meantime complaints against the colonizing policy of Columbus induced the Spanish monarchs to appoint Francisco de Boabdilla as judge and governor of the islands and mainland. When Boabdilla reached Santo Domingo he cast the admiral into chains. Upon his arrival in Spain the monarchs released the dejected discoverer, declaring that Boabdilla had exceeded his instructions. Upon his last voyage in 1502, Columbus sailed along the shores of Central America from Honduras to Panama.

Ojeda Reaches Venezuela.—Other explorers had meantime been busy. Alonso de Ojeda, a companion of Columbus, made an expedition in 1499 which reached the northwestern coast of South America. An Indian village built upon piles in the Gulf of Maracaibo reminded him of Venice, so that he called the region Venezuela (little Venice). In 1508 he was made governor of a region which was called Castilla del Oro. He soon undertook to plant a settlement upon the mainland.

Encisco and Balboa.—Interested in the colonizing activities of Ojeda was a lawyer named Fernández de Encisco. In 1510 he led from Santo Domingo a band of settlers bound for a colony which Ojeda had planted in South America. Upon a ship belonging to the expedition there was concealed a bankrupt Spaniard named Vasco Núñez de Balboa, who narrowly escaped being marooned on a desert isle. When Ojeda's settlement was found to be deserted, the stowaway suggested that the expedition should sail to a region where food was plentiful and where the Indians did not use poisoned arrows. On the southeastern margin of the Isthmus of Panama, Encisco founded a town called Darién. Two *alcaldes* were chosen, one of whom was Balboa. That adventurer soon refused to obey Encisco and shipped him to Spain, stigmatizing him as a devil. He also expelled the titular governor of

the district named Darién and become the dominant personality of the settlement.

Balboa Hears of a Great Water.—Balboa sent out expeditions from the town of Darién to explore the surrounding territory. He gathered information concerning the unknown interior. He captured an Indian chief called Careta and espoused his daughter. From a son of another cacique he heard reports of a favored region where the natives ate and drank out of golden dishes—a region where Indians in vessels propelled by oars and sails navigated a Great Water. On January 20, 1513, Balboa addressed a letter to King Ferdinand to explain his actions. In this letter he said that there was gold in the land which he had discovered. He repeated a rumor which he had heard that at three days' journey beyond the mountains of the isthmus there was another sea.

He Discovers the Pacific Ocean.—News that Encisco had denounced him to King Ferdinand made Balboa realize that he must justify himself at once. Instead of waiting for the aid which he had solicited from Spain, he immediately prepared an expedition. Accompanied by some two hundred Spaniards and a larger number of Indians, on September 1, 1513, he sailed from the harbor of Darién. Upon the coast in Careta's dominions Balboa left some men to guard his ships; and on September 6 he marched from Caledonia Bay in a southerly direction. He persisted in his march despite the harassing attacks of Indians. On the forenoon of September 25 his guides assured him that the Great Water could be seen from the top of a mountain. Before reaching its summit, Balboa halted his men; then, alone on a peak in Darién, he beheld a new sea that faded away in the distance. According to a Spanish chronicler, he gave thanks to God who had permitted a lowly person like himself to discover the great, main sea. He named the newly discovered gulf San Miguel. A few days later he waded into its billows with a naked sword and the royal standard in his hands—by a pompous proclamation he took possession of the salt sea and all its appurtenant lands for the crown of Spain! The discoverers christened the ocean the *Mar del Sur*—the South Sea. Upon

the shores of that ocean six years later a Spaniard named Pedr rias de  vila founded the city of Panama.

Magellan's Contract with Charles I.—Ferdinand Magellan, a brave and honorable Portuguese who had visited the Molucca Islands, laid before his King a proposal to reach those islands by sailing west. As the Portuguese monarch did not accept his plan, Magellan—who seems to have believed that the Moluccas lay upon the Spanish side of the demarcation line—proceeded to Spain. On March 22, 1518, a contract was arranged between Magellan and King Charles I. By that contract the King agreed to furnish five vessels for the expedition, to equip them with arms and men, and with provisions for two years. On his part Magellan agreed to discover in the Ocean, within the Spanish half of the world, islands, mainlands, and “rich spiceries.” As he evidently believed that there was a channel connecting the Atlantic Ocean with the South Sea, Magellan agreed to seek for a strait. The agreement also contained a stipulation about the division of any profits that might accrue from the lands discovered.

The First Circumnavigation of the Globe.—With five ships, bearing some two hundred and seventy men, Magellan sailed from San L car on September 20, 1519. After coasting slowly along the shores of Brazil, Magellan's party wintered at 49  south of the equator. In spite of storms and privations—his soldiers being compelled to live upon rats, mouldy biscuits, and leather—Magellan discovered the much-sought strait. The first passage of Magellan's Strait took thirty-eight days. His men named the new ocean the *Mare Pacificum*. After three months' sailing across that ocean Magellan reached a group of islands which, because of the thievish propensities of their inhabitants, his sailors designated the Ladrones. In the middle of March, 1521, he caught sight of an archipelago which was subsequently called the Philippines. The bold navigator was killed in a skirmish with the natives upon one of those islands, but his remaining followers continued the adventurous voyage. Only one vessel of the expedition, the “Victoria,” reached Spain in September, 1522, laden with spices. Of Magellan's discovery the great

Portuguese poet Luiz de Camoões thus chanted in the *Lusiad*:

Forever sacred to the hero's fame

Those foaming straits shall bear his deathless name.

Conquest of Cuba.—The exploration of the interior of America by the Spaniards was begun by leaders dispatched from the West Indies. From Santo Domingo, Governor Diego Columbus—the son of the Great Admiral—sent a prosperous planter named Diego Velásquez to conquer Cuba. Among the followers of Velásquez there was an adaptable, brave, and persuasive young Spaniard named Hernando Cortés who had sought his fortune in the New World.

The Expedition of Hernando Cortés.—After alluring reports reached Cuba of a strange land to the west that had been seen by Juan de Grijalva, Cortés was selected by Governor Velásquez to lead an exploring party. To prepare for this trip Cortés used all his available resources. How much Velásquez contributed is not clear. The expedition was composed of some five hundred and fifty Spanish soldiers, one hundred and ten marines, and two hundred Indians. Cortés was given ten brass cannon and four small falconets. Besides swords and spears, his followers were equipped with crossbows, firelocks, and much powder and ball. Most important of all were sixteen horses, clad in mail.

His Instructions.—On February 18, 1519, in "eleven ships, both great and small," the Spaniards left Cuba despite the attempt of Velásquez to recall their leader. Instructions prepared for Cortés by Velásquez directed him first of all to find Grijalva. He was then to liberate certain Christians who were supposed to be in captivity in Yucatan. He was to explore the harbors, bays, and inlets, "to look carefully into everything," and to inquire after pearls, spices, and gold. Any treasure that he might obtain was to be placed in a box having three keys. He was to treat the Indians kindly, and to instruct them in the Catholic faith. The expedition of Cortés was dispatched primarily to gather information.

Favoring Circumstances.—The Spanish leader soon decided to invade the Aztec Empire, greatly outnumbered though he was. In the unique conflict that ensued certain circumstances favored his enterprise. Cortés was the resourceful leader of mailclad men with firearms and horses, while the Aztec war chief Montezuma was the hated and vacillating leader of a barbarous and disintegrating confederacy. Lady Marina, the clever daughter of an Indian chief, faithfully served the Spaniards as guide and interpreter. A widespread tradition that their feathered god would some day return to Mexico from the east favored the daring Spaniards: rumors that penetrated the Aztec Empire about the white strangers seemed to herald the approach of Quetzalcoatl.

Cortés Invades the Aztec Empire.—After landing at Vera Cruz, despite Montezuma's warning that he should leave Mexico, Cortés decided to scuttle his fleet. On August 16, 1519, he started for Tenochtitlan. Through the strange neglect of the Aztec warlord, he was allowed to pass the stone wall that served as the Empire's outer defense. After defeating the Tlascalan Indians in battle, he negotiated an alliance with them against the Aztecs. By fire and blood Cortés steadily marched toward the capital city. He traversed the plateau of Anáhuac until his men caught sight of the beautiful valley of Mexico. Pressing farther, and escorted by agents of Montezuma who made a virtue of necessity, on November 8 Cortés reached the southern causeway of Tenochtitlan where he was met by the Aztec monarch and his chieftains.

The Capture of Montezuma.—The Spanish chroniclers penned extravagant accounts of the vast extent of the capital city, its temples, other public buildings, and gardens. Lodged in a *tecpan* near the great temple, Cortés was soon warned by his allies that the Aztecs contemplated an act of treachery. He accordingly decided upon a sudden coup. Accompanied by a few mailclad knights, Cortés boldly seized Montezuma and escorted him to a *tecpan* which was held by the Spaniards. There the captive monarch was induced to issue an official declaration recognizing the supremacy of the Spanish King. Mean-

time reports of the unauthorized steps taken by Cortés had reached Velásquez, who consequently equipped another expedition under Pánfilo de Narváez to capture the recalcitrant leader. To face that menace Cortés divided his forces and led a contingent to meet Narváez, leaving a cruel and dashing leader named Pedro de Alvarado in charge of Montezuma. As negotiations for a pacific settlement were futile, Cortés suddenly swooped down upon Narváez's men and decisively defeated them. Thus he gained a new fleet, munitions, followers, and fresh prestige.

The Conquest of Mexico City.—While Cortés was engaged in this exploit, the Aztecs—enraged by the slaughter of some Indians who were engaged in a festival—turned upon Alvarado's followers and besieged them. Informed by messengers of this untoward event, Cortés hastily rejoined his men in the capital city, accompanied by Indian allies and some followers of Narváez. Stricken in the forehead by a missile while haranguing his people Montezuma soon died: Indian chroniclers ascribe his death to the Spaniards. After the Spanish forces had decided to retire from the city, the Aztecs fell upon them with the utmost violence, and during the "sorrowful night" of July 5, 1520, numerous Spaniards were slaughtered. Taking refuge in the territory of friendly Indians, Cortés gathered strength for a fresh attack upon the stronghold of Aztec power. From the West Indies, Spanish adventurers came to join his forces. In May, 1521, he laid siege to Tenochtitlan. After an investment of three months, the city was taken by the jubilant Spaniards. Cuitahuatzin, the doughty successor of Montezuma, was tortured over a slow fire that he might disclose the hiding place of Aztec treasure. By a series of regulations for the conquered metropolis Cortés proved himself to be a wise administrator. Under his guidance the Spaniards soon began to subjugate other Indians who had been under the rule of the Aztecs.

Exploration and Conquest of Central America.—The region called Central America was occupied by the Spaniards from 1522 to 1524 through expeditions that were

sent out, on the one side by Hernando Cortés, and on the other side by Pe'drarias de Avila, who had been made governor of Darién and adjacent territory. In January, 1522, Gil González Dávila started from the Gulf of San Miguel along the Central American coast in a westerly direction. Soon compelled to beach his poor vessels, González continued his expedition by land and, after many hardships, he heard rumors of a wise Indian chief in the interior, who was named Nicaragua. González and his followers visited this cacique in his capital which was located upon the shores of a lake only a few leagues from the Pacific Ocean. After baptizing and catechizing many Indians, González returned to Panama with news of his discovery. While González was striving to secure a royal grant of the region that became known as Nicaragua, Governor Pedrarias sent Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba to occupy it. After founding settlements there, Hernandez came to blows with González, who was finally seized by a follower of Cortés. Stories of wonderful lands to the south incited Cortés to select Pedro de Alvarado to lead an expedition to a region that was called Guatemala. In December, 1523, Alvarado left Mexico City with a large force of Spaniards and Indians bound for the south. After a series of bloody conflicts he captured the important towns of Guatemala and even penetrated into a district that was designated Salvador. On July 25, 1524, he founded a city named Santiago de Guatemala. In 1527 Alvarado's brother transferred the city to another site. Cortés sent a veteran fighter named Cristóbal de Olid to Honduras early in 1524 with a force of Spaniards and Indians to seek a strait and to make a settlement. As Olid proved false to Cortés, the latter sent another conquistador to subjugate him, and later in spite of many hardships made a march to Honduras himself. In 1540 King Charles I made a grant of land in a district denominated Costa Rica to Diego Gutiérrez who undertook to conquer it. Meantime Francisco de Montejo and his son had overrun Yucatan.

Thus did the Spaniards undertake the conquest of Central America, or, as they designated it, Guatemala. It

did not monopolize the attention of an outstanding figure like Cortés. Neither did it attract a person like Francisco Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru.

Francisco Pizarro.—Francisco Pizarro spent some of his youthful days upon the hills of Estremadura as a swineherd. To his ears there came alluring tales of the New World; hence the youngster left his herd and embarked for the West Indies. In 1510 he turned up in Santo Domingo. He was a companion of Balboa on the expedition that resulted in the discovery of the Pacific Ocean. Upon the shores of the new ocean Pizarro heard tales of a land in the south where the natives used domesticated animals as beasts of burden. He was given an additional stimulus about 1523 when a sick cavalier called Pascual de Andagoya returned from an expedition beyond the Gulf of San Miguel with glowing reports of Birú.

The Three Partners: the First Expedition. — Pizarro was bold, resourceful, and persevering, but illiterate and poor. He was accordingly compelled to seek aid in his project to conquer Peru. He secured as partners Diego de Almagro, a soldier of fortune, and Fernando de Luque, a vicar at Panama. Apparently the arrangement was that Luque should furnish the necessary funds, that Almagro should equip the expedition, and that Pizarro should assume its command. Governor Pedrárias gave his consent and was assured a part of the accruing profits. In November, 1524, with possibly two hundred men in one small vessel, Pizarro sailed from Panama in a southerly direction. Despite great hardships, he proceeded a short distance along the inhospitable coast of South America. Almagro brought back to Panama from his trip—which was distinct from that of Pizarro—rumors of a rich Indian Empire far to the south.

Second Expedition.—As Pedrárias now withdrew from the enterprise for a monetary consideration, on March 10, 1526, the three remaining parties framed a contract. According to this contract Almagro and Pizarro agreed to devote themselves exclusively to the discovery and subjugation of Peru until that Empire was conquered. As Luque had furnished funds for the promotion of the

expedition he was promised one-third of the lands, aborigines, incomes, treasures, and spoils that might be secured. Almagro and Pizarro gathered reinforcements at Panama; and with some two hundred soldiers, munitions, and a few horses, the two captains resumed the enterprise. On his second expedition Pizarro and thirteen men—after waiting for fresh reinforcements on the island of Gallo—reached Tumbes near the mouth of the Guayas River. There some emissaries were sent ashore who were hailed by subjects of the Inca as children of the sun. Those messengers brought back to Pizarro reports of a fortress, of a temple of the sun, and of vases of gold. In 1528 Pizarro returned to Panama with llamas and golden ornaments from Peru. Yet, as the governor did not look with favor upon another expedition to a region clearly beyond his jurisdiction, the three partners were compelled to turn for aid and sanction to the Spanish crown. Pizarro accordingly left Panama for Spain early in 1528, apparently agreeing to secure his partners' rights, as well as his own.

Pizarro's Contract with the Queen.—At Toledo the adventurer told his wonderful story to Charles I. The result of the interview was an agreement dated July 26, 1529. This contract gave Pizarro the right of discovery and conquest in Peru for over two hundred leagues south of the island of Gallo—a region that was designated New Castile. The Queen promised him the titles of governor, captain general, and *adelantado* of that region, with an annual salary. He was accorded the right to build forts and to assign lands and Indians to colonists. Pizarro was thus practically made the viceroy of the prospective conquest, while Almagro was merely declared to be commander of the fortress of Tumbes, and Luque was made the bishop of that place. On his part Pizarro agreed to equip a force of two hundred and fifty men for a Peruvian expedition within six months after his return to Panama. The contract contained a stipulation that some priests should be taken to Peru to convert the Indians. Special concessions were made to emigrants, among them exemption from certain taxes. The Spanish government agreed

to facilitate the purchase of vessels for the expedition; and it was promised a share of any precious metals that might be found.

Pizarro Invades the Inca Empire.—After Francisco Pizarro had secured some recruits in Spain, including his brothers Gonzalo and Hernando, he returned to America to organize another expedition. A rupture between Pizarro and Almagro because of the contract with the Queen was narrowly averted. Eventually a detachment of the third expedition for Peru sailed from Panama. It was composed of three vessels bearing about one hundred and eighty men, two falconets, thirty horses, and the Pizarro brothers. The arrangement was that Almagro should follow this detachment with reënforcements. Aided by Hernando de Soto with adventurers from Nicaragua, Francisco Pizarro again landed at Tumbes. As he encountered only slight opposition from the aborigines, early in 1532 he marched into the Inca's dominions. Soon afterward he founded a town called San Miguel where he left some of his disgruntled followers. An envoy of the Inca Atahualpa—who had succeeded to power after a sanguinary civil war—brought the Spaniards greetings, presents, and an invitation to visit his master, who was encamped over the mountains near Cajamarca.

Capture of Atahualpa.—After scaling the snow-capped cordillera, Pizarro and his followers presented themselves before Atahualpa's pavilion. Assigned quarters in a public building of Cajamarca, some of Pizarro's followers—who at night beheld the Peruvian watchfires twinkling around them as numerous as the stars of heaven—began to despair of their enterprise. Not so Pizarro, who had conceived the desperate plan of ambuscading the Inca in the presence of his army. When on November 16, 1532, Atahualpa unsuspectingly visited the Spanish camp, thousands of his companions were wantonly slain and the Inca was captured.

The Fall of Cuzco.—In Peru, as in Mexico, the capture of their leader stupefied the Indians. It was as though "the keystone had fallen from an arch." Atahualpa vainly endeavored to satisfy the cupidity of the Spaniards by

undertaking to fill a large room with gold or golden vessels. After dividing the treasure which was brought to the Inca's feet by his submissive subjects, the conquerors strangled the unfortunate monarch. At the instance of Pizarro, a brother of the dead monarch named Toparpa was made the Inca. Toparpa died, however, while the conquistadors were marching to Cuzco. Pizarro, who meantime had been joined by Almagro, made his triumphal entry into Cuzco on or about November 15, 1533. In January, 1535, upon the banks of the Rimac River, the conqueror of Peru founded the city of Los Reyes that was soon known as Lima. He dispatched an expedition to subjugate the Charcas Indians upon the elevated plateau beyond Lake Titicaca and in 1538 or 1539 one of his followers founded the city of Chuquisaca.

The Struggle for Quito.—After the seizure of Atahualpa, one of his commanders called Rumiñahui sallied forth from Cajamarca, led a force to the city of Quito, and mastered the adjacent region. Another of Atahualpa's chieftains named Quisquis joined Rumiñahui to aid in the struggle against the Spaniards. Upon learning that the Kingdom of Quito had not been subdued by Pizarro, Pedro de Alvarado led a band of adventurers from Central America to conquer it. In March, 1534, he disembarked on the equatorial coast of South America and prepared to march to the city of Quito. Rumors of Alvarado's expedition reached Peru in time to hasten the departure for Quito of Sebastian Moyano, a bold follower of Pizarro who had been made governor of San Miguel.

Conquest of Quito by Benalcázar.—Sebastian Moyano was born of humble parents in the Spanish village of Belalcázar. As Sebastian de Belalcázar or Benalcázar he became known to contemporaries and historians. Orphaned at an early age, the adventurous youth was attracted by the golden romance of America. He evidently proceeded to the New World in the third expedition of Columbus. After participating in various exploits of the Spaniards in Central America, he accompanied Francisco Pizarro to Peru. In the northern part of the ancient Inca Empire Benalcázar gained the support of the Cañarian Indians

who had been disaffected toward Atahualpa, routed the partisans of Rumiñahui, and in December, 1533, entered the city of Quito. Meantime, Francisco Pizarro had sent Almagro to aid Benalcázar against Alvarado; the latter was induced to renounce his project of conquering Quito, and soon returned to Central America. Benalcázar then routed Quisquis and soon undertook to reconstruct Quito. He took formal possession of that city for the King of Spain in December, 1534. Then he proceeded to extend his authority over the coastal region under the equator and soon turned his eyes toward the land of the Chibchans.

Benalcázar Explores Cauca and Magdalena Valleys.—Allured by the legend of the gilded man, in 1535 Benalcázar sent two of his followers into the region north of Quito. Those explorers penetrated as far as the Cauca Valley. Benalcázar continued the exploration of that attractive valley; and on July 25, 1536, he planted a settlement that was named Cali. In the following December he founded the city of Popayán. After gathering reënforcements, in 1538 Benalcázar scaled the lofty cordillera that separated the sources of the rivers Cauca and Magdalena. A number of years earlier settlements had been made by Spaniards at Santa Marta and Cartagena on the coast of the Caribbean Sea. Thus it was that upon descending the Magdalena River some distance Benalcázar caught rumors of other white men who had traversed the highlands to the east.

Jiménez de Quesada Conquers the Chibchans.—These were Spaniards who had been sent on an exploring expedition by Fernández de Lugo, who in 1535 had entered into an agreement with the Spanish crown to conquer and colonize the region called Santa Marta which lay east of the Magdalena River. As commander of the expedition Lugo had selected Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, a resolute lawyer who was a native of Granada. Leaving Santa Marta in April, 1536, and dispatching a flotilla to ascend the Magdalena River, Jiménez de Quesada started on the long and hazardous trip overland to the upper Magdalena. Although plagued by insects, hunger, and disease, he proceeded up the inundated valley of that tropical river,

repelled the attacks of Indians who used poisoned arrows, scaled the mountains, and at last caught sight of verdant plains which reminded him of his native province. After defeating the discordant Chibchans, Quesada occupied the valley of Bacatá without opposition; he captured Tunja and Sogamoso, securing quantities of gold, textiles, and emeralds. In this valley on August 6, 1538, he founded the city of Santa Fé—that later came to be known as Santa Fé de Bogotá. Quesada named the conquered region the New Kingdom of Granada.

The Three Conquistadors Quarrel.—Shortly afterward Quesada heard of the approach of a party under Nicholas Federmann that had proceeded from Venezuela through the Amazonian wilderness. About the same time he learned of Benalcázar's expedition. In February, 1539, Benalcázar, Federmann, and Quesada made a triumphal entry into Santa Fé. Soon afterward the three conquistadors became involved in an acrimonious controversy about the territories to which they were respectively entitled. In 1546 the Spanish King granted Quesada a coat of arms bearing a symbolic representation of emeralds to commemorate the mines discovered in New Granada by that conquistador.

Almagro's Expedition to Chile.—Meantime, the conquest of the region south of Peru had been undertaken by Almagro. To him the Spanish crown had conceded the territory stretching for two hundred leagues beyond the grant made to Francisco Pizarro. Accompanied by a large number of Indians, and some five hundred Spaniards who were lured by false stories of gold in the south, Almagro left Cuzco in July, 1535. He marched slowly across the elevated plateau, struggled breathlessly across the *puna* of Atacama, and finally caught sight of the green valleys of Chile. From the valley of Coquimbo he marched to the valley of Aconcagua, whence he sent out exploring parties. Disappointed in their search for gold, Almagro's followers soon clamored to return to the home of the Incas. In the end of 1536, they rendezvoused in Copiapó, and marched across the desert of Atacama toward Cuzco. There Almagro engaged in a bitter

struggle with Pizarro for supremacy; on July 8, 1538, he was captured and condemned to death.

Conquest of Chile by Valdivia.—Although the conquest of Chile was next confided by the Spanish crown to an obscure adventurer, yet Francisco Pizarro commissioned one of his followers named Pedro de Valdivia to perform that difficult task. Valdivia was a persevering native of Estremadura, who had served his King in Venezuela. In Peru he had commanded Pizarro's forces against Almagro upon the latter's return from Chile. With some two hundred men, besides Indians, he left Cuzco early in 1540: his object was to plant a permanent settlement in Chile. On February 12, 1541, he founded a city called Santiago de Nueva Estremadura—later called Santiago de Chile—that was defended by a fort placed upon a hill. Rebuilding the city after it had been destroyed by the Araucanians, Valdivia then proceeded to found Serena, Coquimbo, Concepción, Imperial, Valdivia, and Villarica. In 1553, however, the aborigines, led by a valiant youth called Lautaro, defeated the Spaniards and captured their leader, who was slain by a vengeful Araucanian.

Solís Discovers the Río de la Plata.—The story of the exploration and conquest of the Atlantic coast of South America is linked to the history of the Pacific Ocean. When news of Balboa's discovery reached Spain, it stimulated interest in the search for a strait. Juan Díaz de Solís—who had made a voyage to America in 1508, and who had become chief pilot of Spain—was commissioned to explore the coast of South America to a distance of seventeen hundred leagues or more beyond the Isthmus of Panama, if that were possible without crossing the demarcation line into the Portuguese half of the world. With three small vessels bearing seventy men and provisions for two years and a half, Solís sailed from San Lúcar on October 8, 1515. He proceeded along the coast of America south of the region discovered by Cabral; in February, 1516, he reached a vast expanse of fresh water—later proven to be the estuary of the Río de la Plata—which he called the *Mar Dulce* (Fresh Sea). After discovering the island of Martín García, Solís landed with some

of his companions. The explorers were unexpectedly attacked by the Charruan Indians, however, and Solís and his followers were slaughtered. The remaining Spaniards fled from those ill-omened coasts, loaded their vessels with Brazil wood, and returned to Spain. The task which Solís had essayed was soon taken up by other hands.

Mendoza's Expedition to la Plata.—The conquest of southern South America was undertaken by a Spanish knight named Pedro de Mendoza who had gained distinction in the Italian wars. In 1534 he entered into an agreement with the King of Spain which provided that he should equip an expedition for the banks of the Río de la Plata, build three stone fortresses there, and seek a route across the continent to the South Sea. Granted the title of *adelantado*, he was allowed a salary payable from revenues accruing from a region that stretched for two hundred leagues south of the grant made to Almagro. A share of the gold, silver, pearls, and precious stones possessed by any people that might be conquered should belong to the King. With a company containing distinguished members of the Spanish nobility, as well as some Germans, Mendoza sailed from Seville for the New World in August, 1535. Upon his arrival in the estuary of la Plata River, Mendoza founded the city of Buenos Aires which was soon violently attacked by Indians. He sent one of his followers named Juan de Ayolas to explore the upper stretches of the rivers Paraná and Paraguay and to seek a route to Peru. Some time afterward the disillusioned *adelantado* left America for Spain.

Ayolas Finds Asunción.—Ayolas ascended the Paraná River. After a skirmish with the Guaraní Indians, on August 15, 1537, near the junction of the Pilcomayo and the Paraguay rivers, he built a fort called Asunción. Then the intrepid leader ascended the Paraguay River farther, and proceeded overland to Peru. Upon his return trip he was assassinated by Indians. Meantime, Domingo Martínez de Irala, an officer of Mendoza's expedition, had assumed the leadership. Buenos Aires was forsaken, the remaining colonists ascended the river in 1537, and took up their residence at Asunción.

The Welsers in Venezuela.—The story of Venezuelan colonization begins with pearl fishers and slave hunters. In 1528 certain Germans, who had been granted by Spain the right to discover, conquer, and colonize the northern coast of South America between Cape Vela and Maracapana, transferred their right to the Welsers, a German banking firm of Augsburg. The assignment stipulated that within two years the Welsers should plant two settlements, build three forts, and secure fifty German miners for Spanish America. Among other privileges they were granted exemption from certain taxes and were conceded the right to exploit twelve square leagues of land upon their own account. Early in 1529 the Welsers began a career of conquest and exploitation in Venezuela, which lasted until their privileges were revoked in 1556.

Diego de Losada Founds Caracas.—After the middle of the sixteenth century the Spaniards devoted special attention to the conquest of some fertile valleys in Venezuela that were inhabited by warlike Indians. In 1560 Francisco Fajardo planted a settlement in the Guaire Valley which he called San Francisco. Under the rule of Governor Ponce de León the subjugation of the Indians was entrusted to a noble Spaniard called Diego de Losada, who had won renown as a conquerer and pacifier of the aborigines. After defeating the Indians, who lived in the valley of Caracas, on or about July 25, 1567, Losada laid out in that valley, a city which he christened Santiago de León de Caracas. It was not until the Caracas Indians—who conspired under the leadership of a chieftain called Guaycaypuro to annihilate the colonists—had been overwhelmingly defeated by Losada that the existence of this city was assured.

Exploration of the Brazilian Coast.—While Spaniards were exploring and conquering the western and southern parts of South America, navigators under the Spanish or the Portuguese flag were coasting along the shores of the land that had been discovered by Cabral. Vicente Yáñez Pinzón, a companion of Columbus, led an expedition in 1499 from Palos to South America. In January, 1500, he caught sight of that continent south of the equa-

tor. While proceeding in a northerly direction, he discovered the mouth of a great river which he named the Marañon—later called the Amazon—where he filled his casks with sweet water. He then sailed past the mouth of the Orínoco River and as far as the Gulf of Paria. Taking on a cargo of Brazil wood, he sailed for Palos which he reached in September, 1500. In 1500 and 1501 Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine who had been in the Spanish service, made two voyages under the Portuguese flag to the New World, coasted along the shores of the land discovered by Cabral in a southerly direction to about the thirty-second parallel and returned to Portugal, after discovering an isle in the South Atlantic. For more than a decade after the discovery of Cabral, however, the Portuguese government—engrossed by its East Indian enterprises—paid little attention to Brazil. By private enterprise a few small settlements were scattered here and there along the extensive Brazilian coast.

John III Carves Brazil into Captaincies.—After the accession of King John III, 1521-1557, the Portuguese began seriously to consider colonization in America. In 1525 John III sent a small fleet to the Brazilian coast to protect it against the attacks of the French. Five years later that King appointed Martim Affonso de Souza, a member of his council, commander of an expedition and governor of the lands which he might discover in Brazil. Affonso de Souza coasted along the shores of Brazil, started a colony at São Vicente, and made a short trip into the interior. Meantime the Portuguese king definitely formulated a plan for the colonization of Brazil. This was an adaptation of a scheme which had been followed in India: the establishment along the coast of settlements that would be entrusted to illustrious Portuguese. With the avowed purpose to extend the Catholic faith, in September, 1532, the King decided to divide Brazil into districts extending fifty leagues along the coast. In theory those districts extended inland to the demarcation line. To each *capitão-mór* or captain-donatory should be assigned a grant or grants. A captain-donatory was made the almost absolute lord of his particular district or districts.

He was the lawful and hereditary owner of the land. He was given the right to judge civil, criminal, and religious disputes. He was to plant settlements and to assign lands within his jurisdiction. To the Portuguese crown there was merely reserved a shadowy, feudal right of sovereignty. The twelve districts thus carved out of Brazil were designated captaincies. Those captaincies were: Santo Amaro, São Vicente, Parahyba do Sul, Espírito Santo, Porto Seguro, Ilhéos, Bahia, Pernambuco, Itamaracá, Ceará, Rio Grande, and Maranhão.

King John Creates a Governor-General.—As the Brazilian coasts were ravaged by pirates, the Portuguese King soon decided to abolish the captaincies and to establish one common government. He undertook to appoint a Portuguese as governor-general of Brazil. In December, 1548, the King framed instructions for the guidance of the first governor-general. That official was to seek a spot in the captaincy of Bahia which would serve as a site for his capital. The governor-general, as well as the captain-donatories, should strive to convert the natives to the Catholic faith. The enslavement of the aborigines was prohibited. No colonist should sell them firearms. All the Brazil wood that might be found should belong to the King. This governor was directed to promote the exploration of the Brazilian wilderness. He should visit the various captaincies and arrange for the erection and the repair of forts. The foundations were thus laid for the colonization of Portuguese America that took place in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Amerigo Vespucci.—The New World, as Columbus ultimately called the land which he had discovered—whether in full recognition of the greatness of his discovery or not may never be known—was eventually named after Amerigo Vespucci. There is no need here to enter into the dispute raised by Vespucci's statement that he reached the mainland of South America as early as 1497. Let it suffice to say that on one of his voyages to America under the Spanish flag he coasted south of the equator. In 1504 he wrote a letter to a schoolfellow describing four voyages which he claimed to have made. A Latin copy of the

letter fell into the hands of a teacher of geography named Walter Waldseemüller.

The Naming of America.—Upon a printing press at St. Die in Lorraine in 1507 Waldseemüller published a volume entitled *Cosmographiae Introductio* which contained the Latin version of Vespucci's letter describing his alleged voyages. The geographer suggested that the new continent should be christened after Amerigo—its discoverer—"Amerigo" or "America." From time to time many other names were suggested as designations for the newly discovered continents. In 1506 Bartholomew Columbus printed the name "Mondo Novo" on the new southern continent. Las Casas suggested that the New World should be called "Columba." The official name which prevailed in Spain, however, was "The Indies." The name given by Cabral, "Vera Cruz," was sometimes applied; and a Latin version of it, "Terra Sanctae Crucis," was also used. During the sixteenth century perhaps the most common name was "Mundus Novus." In 1512 the Lenox globe used the name "Terra de Brazil." Eight years later Schöner proposed that the New World should be named "America," or "Brazil," or "Peacock's Land." In 1541 the name "America" was applied to the two continents by Mercator. In 1550 Münster printed upon the northern part of the New World the phrase *Insula Atlantica quam vocant Brâsili et Americam*. Although the Spaniards did not use the name America upon their maps until 1758, yet by the early seventeenth century most geographers had adopted as names for the new continents the terms North America and South America.

Summary.—Whether Columbus made his discovery because of his own prescience and convictions, or because of reports of Portuguese voyages to strange lands, or because of the influence of an age when traditions were being shattered, certain it is that he unfolded to the amazed eyes of European contemporaries a new book. Venturesome conquistadors who followed in his wake eventually by strange chance struck the Americas where the aboriginal culture had reached its highest development—the plateaus occupied by the Aztecs, the Chibchans,

and the Incas. Spanish enterprise in the New World thus at first ordinarily assumed the aspect of a career of conquest. Settlements which daring leaders planted in southern South America—where conditions naturally favored the development of what may be designated agricultural colonies—progressed very slowly, partly because of the desire to find gold which constantly lured men into the wilderness. Wherever the steel-clad knight and the sandaled monk penetrated there soon began a curious mingling of European civilization and Indian culture. By the middle of the sixteenth century some lines that Spanish and Portuguese colonial enterprises were destined to pursue had been sketched. Portuguese settlements, which—because of the system of captaincies—originally showed more traces of feudal customs than did the Spanish, were located along the eastern coast. Within the area delimited by the demarcation line of 1494 the Portuguese came into contact with the Tupian and the Tapuyan Indians. The Portuguese system of captaincies left a more lasting impress upon Brazil than early royal grants left in Spanish America.

CHAPTER IV

THE LATIN-AMERICAN COLONIES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Nature of the Latin Colonies in America.—The Spanish conquerors paid little attention to agriculture. For many decades the regions that were best adapted for farming colonies were shamefully neglected by the gold-hunting Spaniards. In both Spanish and Portuguese America avaricious adventurers captured the aborigines and sold them into slavery. Influenced by the eloquent denunciations of priests, the governments of Spain and Portugal intervened between the conquerors and the Indians. Yet the Spanish crown did not succeed in establishing its authority without a struggle. In regard to its intention to protect the aborigines, the crown can scarcely be said to have succeeded at all.

The Reducción and the Repartimiento.—Upon conquering a certain region the Spaniards ordinarily attempted to persuade the Indians to adopt settled life. Sometimes the natives nominally accepted the Christian religion and undertook to live in villages. To this process of transformation the term *reducción* was ordinarily applied. As the Spanish conquerors arrived in small numbers and generally disliked manual occupations, they soon tried to use the aborigines as laborers. In order to manage the Indians more readily, the conquerors adopted the practice of dividing them into groups or squads and assigning a squad or more to each of the leading colonists. Those squads were designated *repartimientos*. Possibly at times, as in Spain, a *repartimiento* signified also a strip of land.

The Encomienda.—Soon the term *encomienda* was applied to a grant of land in Spanish America with the Indians liv-

ing upon it. The grantee was styled an *encomendero*. From time to time the Spanish monarchs urged *encomenderos* to instruct the Indians entrusted to them in the Catholic faith, to teach them to live orderly lives, and to protect them. Laws were soon issued declaring that an *encomendero* who failed to protect his wards and to promote their political and religious welfare should lose his *encomienda*. There was no fixed term for such a grant: it might be conceded for two, three, or four generations. The size of the *encomiendas* varied greatly, depending upon the influence and the merit of the persons to whom they were granted.

The Mita and the Yanacona.—Sometimes an adaptation of the *repartimiento* was used. In Mexico and Peru, where squads of natives were frequently employed in mines, the term *mita* was eventually applied to a group of Indians that was compelled to labor under the direction of Spanish overseers. In certain sections Indians with their families were required to dwell all their lives upon the estate of the individual or corporation to whom they belonged. Upon the Peruvian highlands such an Indian, who was transferred with the land, was designated a *yanacóna*. The custom of employing aborigines in mines or upon plantations of Spanish America virtually became a system of Indian slavery that left an enduring impress. In a futile effort to protect the Indians against mistreatment in 1542 the Spanish government promulgated the so-called "new laws."

Character of the Spanish Colonists.—During the early conquest many Spaniards proceeded to America from the Castilian portion of the Peninsula. A number of the prominent leaders were natives of Estremadura. Some of these were adventurers who, because of personal reasons, or because of the fall of Granada, felt that the pent-up Spanish Peninsula confined their powers. Animated by intense religious emotion, other colonists saw in the unfolding of the New World a rare opportunity to extend the gospel of Christ to a benighted people. Although early in the sixteenth century the Spanish government tried to promote the settlement of artisans and farmers in the West Indies by special concessions—such as the grant of extensive estates to persons taking groups of

colonists to Santo Domingo—yet the governors found it difficult to restrain settlers from proceeding to the adjacent continents to hunt for treasure.

Transmission of European Culture.—Sustained efforts were made by the Spaniards to transmit European culture to the New World. Besides some prospective settlers, upon his second voyage Columbus brought to the West Indies, mares, sheep, heifers, calves, goats, ewes, pigs, and chickens. Wheat, barley, other cereals, the grapevine, and also the seeds of oranges, melons, and other plants were presented by the Old to the New World. These and other European fauna and flora were spread through America by the conquistadors. Cortés ordered that for every one hundred aborigines held in *repartimiento*, a Spaniard should for a term of years plant annually one thousand shoots of vines or other useful plants. A Spanish writer declared that when Gonzalo Pizarro started to take charge of the district of Quito he took with him no less than five thousand swine. When Valdivia left Cuzco to undertake the conquest of Chile, he took with him not only war horses but also domestic animals. Wheat was introduced into Peru by a Spanish lady who made its usefulness widely known among the colonists.

Conquistadors are Displaced by Royal Agents.—As has been indicated, the Spanish colonial Empire was largely founded through the initiative, the funds, and the enterprise of individuals who undertook the conquest of certain regions in the New World by virtue of special arrangements with the Spanish monarchs. This was true of Columbus, Cortés, Pizarro, Mendoza, and other adventurous Spaniards. Partly because of complaints about the shameful treatment of the aborigines, the Spanish crown subsequently attempted to establish its authority upon the rude foundations which had been laid by the conquistadors. Early in the sixteenth century the privileges conferred upon Columbus were totally abrogated. Cortés was deprived of his position as governor, captain general, and chief justice: in 1526 a portion of his authority was transferred to a commissioner who was sent to act as his judge in *residencia*. That judge was soon succeeded by a

governor; and in 1528 an *audiencia* was established in Mexico City. As government through that tribunal did not produce satisfactory results, the Spanish government decided to transplant another institution to America. In October, 1535, Antonio de Mendoza arrived in Mexico to act as viceroy. In Peru the authority of the Pizarro family—which well-nigh became a dynasty—was not easily superseded. Upon learning of the quarrels of the Peruvian conquistadors, in 1540 Charles I appointed Cristóbal Vaca de Castro his special agent in Peru. After Vaca de Castro had defeated the followers of Gonzalo Pizarro—who had inherited the authority of his brother Francisco—an *audiencia* was established in Lima; and in 1543 Blasco Núñez Vela was appointed viceroy of Peru. Six years later an *audiencia* was created for the city of Santa Fé de Bogotá which was granted jurisdiction over the territory that had been conquered by Benalcázar, Federman, and Quesada.

The Adelantado.—An officer of prime importance in the exploration and settlement of the Spanish Indies was the *adelantado*. Although that title was often associated with other titles in early Spanish-American history, yet it indubitably signified an officer with distinct powers and duties. The first *adelantado* in the New World was Bartholomew Columbus, who was granted that post by his brother. As an American office under royal control, it began through the appointment in 1514 of Vasco Núñez de Balboa as *adelantado* of the coast of the South Sea. In capitulations made by the Spanish King with enterprising subjects in the sixteenth century some thirty persons were promised the title and privileges of *adelantado*. Among those were many prominent explorers and colonizers of Spanish America: Balboa, Velásquez, Magellan, Andagoya, Alvarado, Pizarro, Almagro, Mendoza, Benalcázar, Orellana, and Irala.

His Functions.—The capitulation of an *adelantado* with the crown contained specifications about the territory which he was to explore, to conquer, or to colonize. His duty it was to equip the expedition that should include some priests or friars. In every case he agreed to promote the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. He

was conceded special privileges, such as the right to grant *encomiendas* of Indians; and he was granted certain exemptions, as from the payment of certain duties. He was ordinarily pledged to build forts for the protection of his settlement. Every *adelantado* was made governor and captain general of the province which he planned to settle. He promised the Spanish crown one-fifth of the gold and other precious metals that he might discover. Powers and privileges might be granted to an *adelantado* for one generation or for a longer period.

Encomenderos and Missionaries.—By the extension of royal power over regions secured by the conquerors, and by the enactment of laws which aimed to protect the Indians against enslavement by *encomenderos*, the tendency, in some parts of the Indies at least, was to decrease the importance of the *encomienda*. In time the missionary became an important factor in Spanish colonization. Missionaries in Spanish America generally belonged to the regular clergy. Among the religious orders that came to the Indies in the sixteenth century were Augustinians, Capuchins, Franciscans, and Jesuits. To members of those orders, groups or tribes of aborigines were assigned. Friars founded missions among Indians who had been subjugated by the conquistadors; and to a varying extent they played the rôles of *encomenderos*.

Missions.—Ordinarily missionaries were independent of the civil officials in a particular region. They could partition the land and its inhabitants, and could organize villages or pueblos of Indians that were managed by friars. Favorite sites for their pueblos were often far distant from the settlements of Spaniards: upon the banks of a navigable stream, or in a pleasant valley, or upon a protected plain. Missionaries of the Catholic faith in Spanish America were frequently pioneers of civilization. Agents of the State as well as of the Church—they were chroniclers, preachers, teachers, colonists, and explorers.

Spanish Colonial Administration.—Let us next notice Spain's colonial system. The forefront of Spanish colonial administration was the King. Largely because of the increase of royal power that had taken place in Spain,

the title to her colonies was not vested in the Spanish people, but in the Spanish monarch. Spain and her colonies were united in a personal union. His Catholic Majesty was the connecting link. It early became clear that the crown intended to govern the Indies through a distinct set of institutions.

The House of Trade.—From a rudimentary organization in which one magistrate acted as a minister for the colonies, the Spanish colonial administrative system developed into complex institutions in the Peninsula and in America. The earliest institution that appeared was the *Casa de Contratación* or House of Trade which was founded at Seville about 1503. Originally that board was composed of a treasurer, a comptroller, and a business manager. A chief pilot was added in 1508; and in 1514 a postmaster-general was created. Many other officers were later added. The House of Trade had commercial, judicial, and scientific functions. It regulated commerce and immigration between Spain and her colonies, and soon exercised jurisdiction over disputes relating to mercantile affairs. It directed the training of pilots who wished to navigate in America and undertook the preparation of charts and maps of the new discoveries. Although the House of Trade eventually became subject to the Council of the Indies, yet it was not extinguished until 1790.

The Council of the Indies.—The political administration of the Spanish colonies under the King was soon vested in the Council of the Indies. At least as early as the second decade of the sixteenth century that council appeared in a rudimentary form; but it was not definitely organized until 1524. Members of the Council of the Indies were appointed by the King from officials who had served in America. A fundamental law about the personnel of the council provided that among its members should be a president, a chancellor, eight councilors, an attorney, and two secretaries. Those officers should be prudent persons of orthodox ancestry. That council was expected to hold its meetings at court, for the King was always supposed to be present: it had administrative, legislative, and judicial authority. The King listened to its advice

upon such important matters as appointments. It made laws for Spanish America by a two-thirds majority. Cases were appealed to it from colonial audiencias. Reports about the Indies were laid before it, whether concerning a *residencia* or other matters. It gathered information respecting the colonies. The Laws of the Indies declared that to promote good government and the administration of justice the Council of the Indies could in consultation with the King enact general and special laws, ordinances, and provisions, which should be obeyed throughout the colonies. Yet its very omnipotence constituted a grave defect; for it was considered the fountain of law and patronage. The Spanish monarch saw his widely extended domain in America only through the eyes of his council.

The Chief Royal Agents in America.—As the territories in the New World were brought under the direct control of the Spanish crown, various administrative districts were carved out of them. Attempts were soon made to organize those districts politically. The most important executive officers who came into existence during the early period of Spanish colonization were the viceroys, governors, and captains general.

The Viceroy of New Spain.—The first viceroy who regularly represented the Spanish King in his American dominions was Antonio de Mendoza. His jurisdiction originally extended over all the Spanish dominions in Central and North America; in other words, he was the chief colonial official in the vast district which stretched from the Isthmus of Panama as far north as the Spanish claims extended. The capital of the viceroyalty of New Spain or Mexico was located at Mexico City. The earliest law concerning the viceregal institution declared that the kingdoms of New Spain and Peru were to be governed by viceroys who should represent the Spanish monarch. Viceroys should exercise the superior governmental authority; they should administer justice equally to all Spanish subjects and vassals, and should study everything that might promote the pacification, tranquillity, and welfare of their provinces just as the King would do if he were present in person.

The Viceroy of Peru.—Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela established his capital at Lima. Originally the jurisdiction of the Peruvian viceroy extended over all the Spanish possessions in South America. Shortly after the establishment of the viceroyalty of Peru, the Spanish government issued a fundamental statute concerning the viceroys. This statute declared that in all matters arising within his jurisdiction a viceroy could take such measures as seemed to him wise: unless there existed some special prohibition, he could act with the same power and prerogatives as the King himself. It commanded the audiencias of Peru and New Spain, governors, judges, subjects, vassals, ecclesiastics, and laymen of whatsoever class or condition, to obey the viceroys as personages who represented the Spanish king.

Terms and Salaries of Viceroys.—An American viceroy normally held his office for three years. That term might be lengthened or shortened at the King's pleasure. In the seventeenth century the salary of the viceroy of New Spain was twenty thousand ducats, while the stipend of the Peruvian viceroy was thirty thousand ducats. Ordinarily a viceroy considerably increased his salary through perquisites. Instructions were often sent by the Council of the Indies to the viceroys to direct their actions in certain matters or upon special occasions. Upon leaving office a viceroy was expected to hand over to his successor a detailed report upon the condition of his viceroyalty.

Threefold Position of a Viceroy.—During the early period of Spanish rule in America a viceroy was in general charge of the financial administration of his viceroyalty. From the very beginning a Spanish viceroy in America occupied a threefold position: he was captain general, president, and viceroy, within a special district. In their capacities as captains general the viceroys of New Spain and Peru were placed in charge of the military and naval forces of their respective viceroyalties. In their rôles as presidents they sometimes acted as chairmen of the audiencias which were established at their respective capitals. In their positions as viceroys—in the narrow sense—they were the chief civil rulers of the provinces within their

jurisdictions. Special directions with regard to the manifold duties of a viceroy were given in more than seventy laws. The viceroy of a particular region was often expected to be the patron of monasteries and hospitals, the protector of the poor, and the defender of the oppressed. He was the King's *alter ego*.

The Captain General.—With the progress of years the Spanish crown became convinced that an American viceroy exercised jurisdiction over too extensive a territory. One indication of this conviction was the appointment of an official specifically designated as captain general, who was given control of a district that was carved out of a viceroyalty. In time the King placed a captain general in charge of the administration of the provinces of Central America. For decades that captain general was subordinate in certain matters, especially in military affairs, to the viceroy of New Spain; but in other respects his authority within his own district was that of a viceroy in miniature. He was the head of the civil administration of the captaincy general; and at times he presided over the *audiencia* which sat at his capital.

Colonial Judges.—In Spanish America the need was early felt of judges who might check the judicial authority of petty officials. During the first decade of the sixteenth century colonists in the West Indies invoked such protection against the son of the Great Admiral. Hence in 1511 a tribunal of royal judges was established in Santo Domingo to hear cases by appeal from local magistrates. Presumably this was the institution which was later designated an *audiencia*. It was undoubtedly the historical antecedent of the royal *audiencias* that were soon definitely established in certain cities of the New World. Those *audiencias* developed into institutions hardly inferior in importance to the viceroys. In truth, they were often viewed as the primary units in administrative organization.

The Audiencia of Santo Domingo.—The rudimentary *audiencia* which had been functioning in the West Indies was definitely established at the city of Santo Domingo by a royal order of September 14, 1526. It was composed

of a president, four *oidores* or judges, a court attorney, and some minor officers. Originally its jurisdiction included the islands of Santo Domingo, Cuba, and Porto Rico, as well as the continental provinces of Venezuela and Guiana: at a subsequent date its authority was extended over Louisiana and Florida. In 1528 ordinances were formulated for its administration and management—ordinances that were based upon the procedure of the tribunals of Valladolid and Granada. The *audiencia* of Santo Domingo was granted jurisdiction over both civil and criminal matters. It was to consider cases in the name of the King. Its magistrates could not engage in mercantile transactions. In certain cases appeals might be made from their judgments to the Council of the Indies. Any one disregarding the decisions of this tribunal should be punished by a fine of 50,000 maravedis. Any problems that were not settled by the ordinances were to be determined by the laws of Spain.

Audiencia of Mexico.—Another *audiencia* was established in Mexico City by a decree issued in the end of 1527. It provided that the viceroy should act as the presiding officer of the tribunal. Besides the president, it should be composed of eight civil judges, four criminal judges, two attorneys, and other minor officials. The *audiencia* of Mexico was to have jurisdiction over the territory between the Cape of Florida and the Cape of Honduras, including the peninsula of Yucatan. On account of the disturbed condition of affairs in Mexico, this tribunal was instructed to perform some political duties: it was to take the *residencia* of Cortés, to delimit certain provinces, to make fiscal reforms, and to protect the Indians. Ordinances formulated for its direction in 1528 much resembled those pertaining to Santo Domingo. The officials and colonists living within its jurisdiction were ordered to obey its mandates just as though the king had issued them.

Audiencias of Panama and Lima.—On February 30, 1535, an *audiencia* was instituted for the city of Panama, with a president, four *oidores*, and an attorney. The earliest ordinance concerning the jurisdiction of that tribunal

assigned it control over Spanish America from the Straits of Magellan to Nicaragua. In 1563 its jurisdiction was restricted to the district between the Darién River and the Bay of Fonseca. Meantime, by a decree of 1542, another audiencia had been established at Lima. This tribunal was originally composed of a president and four *oidores*—a personnel which was later increased. Its jurisdiction was to extend over Peru.

Other Audiencias.—Several other audiencias were established in Spanish America during the sixteenth century. A tribunal was created in 1543 which should reside in the city of Santiago de Guatemala. A fundamental ordinance provided that it should have five *oidores* and one attorney. In 1548 provision was made for the establishment of an audiencia in the city of Guadalajara, Mexico, which was to have jurisdiction over the northern part of the viceroyalty of New Spain. That tribunal followed the traditions and customs of the tribunal in Mexico City to which it was subordinated. On July 17, 1549, the Spanish King authorized the establishment of an audiencia at Santa Fé de Bogotá. Under its jurisdiction were placed the provinces of New Granada, Santa Marta, Cartagena, Popayán, and Guiana. Ten years later the King provided for another audiencia in the viceroyalty of Peru, which should be located at the city of Chuquisaca (La Plata) in the province of Charcas. For a considerable period the tribunal at Chuquisaca—which was ordinarily called the audiencia of Charcas—had jurisdiction over the vast region that stretched from Arica to Montevideo. On November 29, 1563, the King issued an ordinance creating an audiencia for the city of Quito. The president and *oidores* at Santa Fé de Bogotá were enjoined by the King not to exercise any jurisdiction within the pale of the tribunal at Quito. The audiencia of Quito was given control of territory lying on both sides of the equator and stretching from the Pacific coast far beyond the Andes. In 1565 an audiencia was established at the city of Concepción in Chile.

Members of Audiencias.—Audiencias that were thus scattered throughout the Spanish Indies were composed

of a varying number of members who were appointed by the King. The number of members depended upon the location and importance of the respective tribunal. A maximum number of members was reached in a tribunal like that at Mexico City; while the *audiencia* of Quito with a president, four *oidores*, and a prosecutor had the minimum number. In order that they might preserve their impartiality, the members of those tribunals were required to live secluded from the world. They were not to own real estate, to keep more than four slaves, to accept gifts, or to become familiar with ecclesiastics or laymen. If an emergency arose, they might correspond directly with the King. Upon more than one occasion the Spanish monarch declared that a colonial *audiencia* should be considered as the representative of his royal person.

Judicial and Administrative Functions of Audiencias.—The original function of an *audiencia* in the Indies was judicial. It was the supreme court of a certain district with original and appellate jurisdiction. In cases of minor importance its decisions were final; in important cases appeals might be carried to the Council of the Indies. Members of a particular *audiencia* were expected to make periodical visits to towns and cities within its jurisdiction. In every case the magistrate who presided over the meetings of the *audiencia* in a particular town or city was the chief executive of the surrounding region, whether he was designated as viceroy, captain general, or president. In Spanish America the *audiencia* developed important administrative functions. When the viceroy was absent or disabled, the senior *oidor* or, in special cases, the entire tribunal assumed the executive authority. Gradually the Spanish-American *audiencias* became advisory councils to the chief executives. They shared with the viceroys or captain generals of their respective districts the responsibility for the management of military affairs. They likewise exercised authority in ecclesiastical affairs, especially in matters of patronage and finance. As they heard complaints from persons who considered themselves injured

by the acts of viceroys or governors, they consequently restricted the powers of such magistrates.

The Presidencies.—To the magistrate who presided over the meetings of an *audiencia* which was not located at the seat of a viceroy or a captain general, the term president was applied. In consequence the territory over which he, as well as his tribunal, exercised jurisdiction was often designated a presidency. The regions controlled by the respective tribunals located at Guadalajara, Quito, and Chuquisaca were presidencies: as neither a viceroy nor a captain general resided at those cities, their tribunals exercised some political authority. The *audiencia* located at Guadalajara, however, being not far distant from Mexico City, was kept subordinate to the adjacent viceroy. But the isolated *audiencias* of Quito and Chuquisaca were in a sense governments within governments. The circumjacent areas were under the control of those tribunals, and especially of the jurists who presided over their meetings.

The Governors.—Under the *audiencias*, viceroys, and captains general in Spanish America were governors, *alcaldes mayores*, and *corregidores*. Governors were in charge of divisions of a viceroyalty, captaincy general, or presidency that were designated *gobiernos*. A *gobierno* varied in size: sometimes it included the entire jurisdictional area of an *audiencia*; more commonly it was a subdivision of such an area. Ordinarily a *gobierno* included several regions which were denominated provinces. A province was frequently composed of a group of cities and towns that had been settled by Spaniards; and it might also include the adjacent villages of subject Indians. Otherwise it might designate a region inhabited by savage tribes that had not been reduced to civilized life. A governor exercised political, judicial, and military authority.

Alcaldes Mayores and Corregidores.—Over a Spanish town or city and the adjacent villages of dependent Indians, an *alcalde mayor* or a *corregidor* ordinarily ruled. In general that official was selected either by the chief executive of a particular district or by the Spanish king. An *alcalde mayor* or *corregidor* resided at the most important

town of his province. By the aid of minor officials—who were often natives—he exercised functions of a varied character: judicial, fiscal, and military. A *corregidor* was given jurisdiction over civil and criminal disputes arising among Spaniards and aborigines. Among his fiscal duties was the collection of tribute from Indians and taxes from *encomenderos*. In some parts of Spanish America he exercised military authority within his district.

Towns and Cities in Spanish America.—According to an official report dated 1574, there were some two hundred towns or cities in the Spanish Indies. One-half of them were in South America. The limits of municipalities were more or less carefully defined according to the density of population. Where the territory was thickly settled, a town was described as extending to the boundaries of the neighboring towns or cities. In thinly settled portions of Spanish America, the city included a considerable extent of adjacent territory. Politically the Spanish-American city was modeled after the Castilian municipality. A royal order of 1563 provided that every *adelantado* should found at least three cities with a province of dependent villages. Ordinarily the founder of a city was allowed to appoint *alcaldes* and *regidores* for the *ayuntamiento* or, as it was sometimes called, the *cabildo*. He was to assign to each settler a lot in the city and a tract of land for cultivation beyond its gates. He also had the power to allot *encomiendas* to settlers. Where there was no *adelantado* or other authorized leader, ten married men might join to establish a settlement and to form a town government.

The "Chess-Board Plan."—Spanish laws made careful specifications about the plan of a town. Its center was the *plaza mayor* or great square. Around that square were built the church or the cathedral, the town hall, and the prison. Streets intersecting at right angles enclosed the blocks in which the colonists built their town houses. After a town or city was founded, the authority to grant lands passed from the *adelantado* to the *cabildo*. This "chess-board plan" of municipalities was often followed in Spanish America.

The Residencia.—An important check upon the actions of crown officials in the Spanish Indies was furnished by

the *residencia*, which was an inquiry ordinarily made at the end of their term. This inquest was a process designed to hold an official accountable for his actions during a certain period. It was an examination into his official career, an audit of his accounts, and a formal trial. The time allowed for such an investigation was ordinarily about four months. Notices of the *residencia* were published in the district of the official under examination, and aggrieved persons were invited to enter complaints against him within sixty days. Then the commissioner or judge of the *residencia*—who was selected by the authority that had appointed the particular official—opened a court in the town where the official had resided. A law of 1582 provided that the formal trial might last for sixty days in case of presidents, *oidores*, *alcaldes*, attorneys, governors, *corregidores*, and *alcaldes mayores*. After considering the charges, examining witnesses, weighing evidence, and hearing an accused official, the commissioner of *residencia* could render judgment. In important cases appeal might be taken to the respective *audiencia* and thence to the Council of the Indies. Apparently this inquest was also applied to minor officials whenever their superiors were investigated. Although in theory the *residencia* seemed like an admirable mode of accountability, yet, largely because of favoritism, its results were sometimes questionable. A Peruvian viceroy indeed compared the *residencia* to a whirlwind that raised dust and chaff.

Fiscal Officials.—From time to time special officers were appointed to look after fiscal affairs. The instructions of Governor Velásquez to Cortés provided for an inspector and a treasurer. In 1522 an auditor was appointed for New Spain who was vested with financial powers. That official was also given authority to investigate the treatment accorded to the Indians. Some years later instructions were framed for the guidance of a treasurer, a controller, and a factor or business manager, who, during a considerable period, were the principal fiscal officers of the Spanish crown in various administrative areas in the Indies. Such officials were strictly prohibited from engaging in mercantile transactions and were required to

keep their accounts in a specified manner. In 1605 tribunals were established at Mexico City, Lima, and Santa Fé de Bogotá with the power to audit the accounts of fiscal officials within the extensive territory subordinate to magistrates in each of these cities.

The Visitador.—As a mode of holding to strict account colonial officials, in addition to the *residencia*, the Spanish government soon sent inspectors to America. A *visitador* might be sent at any time to make investigation of the official conduct of a particular officer or of particular officers. It was the custom to require the inspector to send the evidence which he had gathered, together with a summary defense of the accused officials, to the Council of the Indies which gave a final judgment upon the case or cases. As an illustration may be cited the appointment in 1543 of a member of the Council of the Indies to inspect the conduct of the viceroy, the audiencia, and the fiscal officials of the crown in New Spain. A law of 1588 provided that *visitadores* should go to the capital or chief city of the particular district in order to examine into the execution of justice, the conduct of ecclesiastical officials, and the administration of the royal finances.

Tributes and Taxes.—Taxation in Spanish America originated in the age of the conquistadors. Founders of colonies were sometimes authorized to levy a capitation tax upon the aborigines and to collect the tithes designed for the support of the Church. At an early date the *cabildos* of Spanish-American towns and cities proceeded to levy taxes upon local commercial, industrial, or professional enterprises—taxes which were used for the support of the municipal administration. Early in the sixteenth century the Spanish government decreed that the crown should be paid a royalty of one-fifth of all the gold, quicksilver, and silver that might be mined in the Indies. The *quinto* of the precious metals and precious stones became the chief source of revenue to the Spanish monarch from his American dominions.

Barter.—As the Spanish conquerors brought little money with them to the Indies and as the aborigines ordinarily managed their commercial transactions by a species

of barter, the earliest colonists had to resort to various devices to carry on trade. Grains of cacao were used for exchange in certain sections. In agricultural and pastoral districts—such as the basin of la Plata River—the colonists used *yerba mate*, tobacco, goats, sheep, wool, tallow, and even horseshoes as money. Where gold was plentiful that metal in powder or in bars was sometimes used as a medium of exchange. The conquerors of the Chibchans circulated aboriginal tokens of gold. In regions where silver was plentiful metallic tokens were soon manufactured. Crude mints were established at Cuzco and Lima. About 1540 a silver coin was minted in Peru which was presumably the first peso coined in America. In 1572 an important mint was opened at Potosí which coined a variety of silver coins that were widely circulated in southern and western South America.

The Founding of Universities.—Intellectual life in the Spanish colonies centered around the universities. As early as 1551 King Charles I had issued a decree providing for the establishment of universities at Lima and Mexico City with the same privileges as the University of Salamanca. The Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico, which was founded two years later, became famous in the Indies and well known in Spain. At this university in addition to theology, civil and canon law, and science, some attention was paid to aboriginal Mexican dialects. The University of San Marcos at Lima developed from an institution which was founded by a Dominican friar in 1553. There the main subjects of study were theology, grammar, civil and canon law, science, mathematics, and philosophy.

Introduction of the Inquisition.—In the early history of the Spanish colonies some inquisitorial functions were exercised by bishops and friars. Later the Church was reënforced by the Inquisition. That dreaded institution was extended to the New World ostensibly to promote the extension of the Catholic faith and to eradicate heresy. A royal decree of January, 1569, announced the decision to establish inquisitorial tribunals in Spanish America. The first colonial tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition was

erected in Peru. Two inquisitors, appointed by the King, were installed in Lima in January, 1570. Originally the jurisdiction of the Peruvian tribunal extended over all of Spanish South America. In November, 1571, two inquisitors were installed in Mexico City. Their tribunal had control over the region extending from the Isthmus of Panama to the unknown regions of the north.

While this development of Spain's administrative machinery was taking place, steel-clad cavaliers and sandaled monks were busily engaged in exploring the hinterland in North and South America and bold navigators were reconnoitering the coast.

Exploration of the Pacific Coast.—Even before the deposition of Hernando Cortés, expeditions had been sent in a northerly direction along the coast of Mexico. In 1533 Jiménez discovered the peninsula of Lower California. Viceroy Mendoza sent out an expedition under López de Villalobos which in November, 1542, reached the Philippine Islands. During the same year another expedition led by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, an experienced Portuguese mariner who was accompanied by a daring pilot named Ferrelo, sailed from Navidad along the coast of California. Upon the death of Cabrillo, Ferrelo led the expedition as far north as the coast of present Oregon. In 1595 a prosperous merchant named Sebastian Vizcaíno was commissioned by the viceroy to colonize Lower California. Two years later he planted a colony at La Paz, which, however, was soon destroyed by Indians. In 1602 Vizcaíno entered a bay which was later called San Diego, on December 16 following, he discovered the Bay of Monterey, and then proceeded north to Cape Mendocino.

Expeditions into the Interior.—In 1513 Ponce de León explored the coast of Florida, where he was mortally wounded by Indians in 1521. Five years later Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón attempted to plant a settlement farther north on the Florida coast. In 1527 Narváez, the hapless protagonist of Cortés, led an expedition from Spain to the coast of Florida and proceeded from Tampa Bay to Galveston Bay. At that point Narváez's boat was unexpectedly driven out to sea and lost. In 1542, influenced

by the imaginative tales of a Franciscan friar about wonderful cities in the distant wilderness, Francisco Vásques de Coronado led an expedition from Compostela up the valley of the Zuñi River. There the magical cities proved to be merely Indian pueblos. Coronado then divided his expedition into detachments: one squad discovered the Grand Cañon of the Colorado; while a band led by Coronado himself pursued another will-o'-the-wisp across dusty plains into present Kansas. At the very juncture when the dispirited Coronado was retracing his steps toward Mexico, a daring cavalier named Hernando de Soto, who had led an expedition from Cuba to Florida, was turning back from a disappointing trip into the interior of North America during which he had discovered the Mississippi River. In 1582 Antonio de Espejo, a Mexican merchant, led a party up the valley of the Río Grande in order to rescue some hapless friars. During his trip Espejo explored present Arizona and New Mexico and discovered some veins of silver. Juan de Oñate agreed to conquer and colonize New Mexico in 1595. Three years later he left Santa Bárbara with a magnificent company of well-dressed cavaliers and seven thousand head of cattle. In April, 1598, he pompously declared that he took possession "of all the kingdoms and provinces of New Mexico" for the King of Spain.

Expansion in Central America.—During the sixteenth century corsairs and buccaneers harassed the West Indies and the coast of Central America. Bartolomé de las Casas, "the Apostle of the Indians," tried to protect them from enslavement. Dominicans and Franciscans, who were slowly penetrating into Chiapas and Guatemala, at times had bitter quarrels about the possession of sites for their respective monasteries. The conquest and conversion of the aborigines proceeded at a slow pace. At the end of the sixteenth century, León, the chief city of Nicaragua, was falling into decay, while Granada had only about two hundred inhabitants.

In New Granada and Venezuela.—In 1540 a companion of Jiménez de Quesada named Jorge Robledo founded Cartago in the Cauca Valley. He then conquered a region

on the right bank of the Cauca River and founded Antioquia. Shortly after an audiencia had been established in New Granada, Ibagué, Villota, Mariquitá, and Muzo were founded either for defense against Indian attacks or for commercial purposes. Before the close of the sixteenth century settlements had also been made at Ocaña, Leiva, Buga, and Honda. Meantime, far to the east friars belonging to the Dominican and Franciscan orders were making explorations and founding missions in the region designated Guiana. Years before Caracas was founded, Diego de Ordaz had explored the Orinoco Valley beyond the mouth of the Caroní River. About 1531 upon the banks of the Orinoco River, a town named Santo Tomé was founded—a town that subsequently became known as Angostura. In spite of the bitter hostility of the aborigines, during the latter half of the sixteenth century towns or cities were planted at Valencia, Trujillo, Maracaibo, La Guaira, and Cumaná.

Penetration of Peru.—To commemorate the defeat of Gonzalo Pizarro in October, 1548, the Spaniards founded the city of La Paz near Lake Titicaca. In 1540 a companion of Gonzalo Pizarro named Orellana embarked with a small party on one of the upper tributaries of the Amazon. After reaching the Great River he followed it through the continent to the sea. The advance of Spanish power in western South America was much promoted by viceroys of Peru who sanctioned expeditions for the exploration of the Peruvian highlands and the Amazon basin. During the latter part of the sixteenth century Captain Juan de Nieto explored the region between Camata and Apolobamba. Diego Alemán proceeded as far as the basin of the Madre de Dios River. In 1567 in the name of the Spanish king Juan Alvares Maldonado was conceded the government of the territory stretching from Lake Opotari—a short distance northeast of Cuzco—to the mouth of the Amazon River. Maldonado even led an expedition from Cuzco to take possession of his extensive grant. After founding a town called Vierso and struggling against a rival explorer, he penetrated the Amazonian wilderness near the headquarters of the Madre de Dios.

The settlement of the Peruvian highlands was stimulated by the discovery of mineral deposits; about 1545 rich silver mines were found at Potosí. The subsequent working of quicksilver mines at Huancavelica and the use of quicksilver in the separation of ores much stimulated the mining industry. Subsequently Viceroy Toledo framed ordinances to regulate the exploitation of mines. From time to time daring Spaniards were entrusted with the task of planting outposts for defense against Indian attacks. A settlement was made at Tarija on the banks of the Nuevo Guadalquivir River in 1570. During the same year in a pleasant valley upon the distant eastern plateau Gerónimo de Osorio founded an outpost that was eventually called Cochabamba.

Progress in Chile.—After the untimely death of Valdivia, the conquest and settlement of Chile was taken up by García Hurtado de Mendoza, a son of the Peruvian viceroy. In 1557 Hurtado de Mendoza led a formidable expedition into the interior and routed the Araucanian Indians at Lagunillas. He repopulated devastated cities and marched as far south as the archipelago of Chiloé. He founded some new towns, among them Cañate and Osorno. Meantime a Genoese mariner who had been employed by Valdivia had explored the Chilean coast from Valparaíso to Llanquihue. In 1557 a daring navigator named Juan de Ladrillero proceeded from Valdivia to the Straits of Magellan, and sailed through the main channel to the Atlantic Ocean. There he took possession of the straits and the adjacent territory for the King of Spain and the governor of Chile. A stream of settlers crossed the cordillera from Chile into a district called Cuyo which had been assigned to Valdivia. Before the end of the sixteenth century, Chileans had founded in that province the cities of Mendoza, San Luis, and San Juan de la Frontera.

Settlements in la Plata Basin.—In 1541 Cabeza de Vaca led a party of Spanish colonists from Santa Catharina by land to Asunción. Subsequently settlements were made in various parts of southern South America by Spaniards who proceeded from different centers. Gonzalo

Pizarro dispatched expeditions from Peru to explore the unknown interior. At his instance an adventurous Spaniard named Prado founded a town in the lofty region inhabited by the Calchaquian Indians—a region that was claimed by Valdivia. In 1563 the Spanish King decided that this district was properly within the jurisdiction of the audiencia of Charcas. Colonists from the viceroyalty of Peru subsequently made settlements at Tucumán, Córdoba, Salta, Jujuy, and La Rioja. With a company of settlers from Asunción in 1561 Nunflo de Chaves founded a city named Santa Cruz de la Sierra upon the plateau to a considerable distance east of Cochabamba. Several years later another party proceeded down the Paraguay River from Asunción and made a settlement on the left bank of the Paraná at Corrientes. In 1573 Juan de Garay—who came to America in the train of a Peruvian viceroy—founded Santa Fé; and on June 11, 1580, with colonists from Asunción, he made a permanent settlement at Buenos Aires.

The Founding of Bahia.—In January, 1549, King John III selected Thomé de Souza as captain general of Brazil and also appointed him the ruler of the captaincy of Bahia. At the same time the King decided that the seat of government in Portuguese America should be in that captaincy. Thomé de Souza reached Bahia on March 29, 1549, bringing in his company some governmental officials, several hundred soldiers and convicts, and a few Jesuits. In the same year the first captain general of Brazil founded the city of Bahia which remained the capital of Portuguese America for two hundred years. During the next half century a number of other settlements were made in the captaincies that stretched along the Brazilian coast.

Character of the Portuguese Settlements.—The early colonists of Brazil were ordinarily not all of the best character. Some of them were convicts who had been banished from the motherland. Others were adventurous persons belonging to the middle class—*fidalgos* who fled from the persecutions of the Inquisition or who sought their fortunes beyond the seas. As most of the Portu-

guese colonists disdained menial labor, they soon had recourse to the aborigines to supply servants for their homes. Aborigines were soon induced by the settlers to labor upon their plantations. But Indian servants were not entirely satisfactory, and as the spread of sugar-cane culture stimulated the demand for labor, the Portuguese eventually looked to Africa. In the second quarter of the sixteenth century cargoes of negroes were brought to Brazil from Guinea. Especially in the captaincy of Bahia, negro slavery became the economic basis of Brazilian life.

Early Portuguese Colonial Administration.—During the sixteenth century Portugal did not develop much special machinery for the administration of her colonies. Governors general, princes, and kings exercised authority which was not clearly differentiated. In many particulars the administration of Portuguese America was not distinct from the administration of Portugal. The only special official of importance that appeared in the mother country was the inspector of finance, who oversaw the finances of the Kingdom: he also oversaw the *Casa da India* that was entrusted with the freighting of vessels for the Indies. That rudimentary colonial minister was restricted, however, by an ecclesiastical council designated the *Mesa da Consciencia e Ordens* which was created in 1532. In the Portuguese colonies the most important local officer was the *corregedor* who exercised judicial and military authority. As in Spanish America, so also in Portuguese America, the government of towns and cities was modeled after that of the motherland.

Transfer of Old World Culture.—To Brazil the Portuguese brought elements of Old World culture. The most important of these perhaps was sugar cane which, planted in 1532 in São Vicente—later known as Bahia—spread thence to other captaincies, and in time to Spanish America. Horses, cattle, sheep, and goats that were imported by the early colonists multiplied with rapidity. Wheat, barley, and other European cereals were brought to Brazil, and also the grapevine. A species of pepper was introduced from Africa.

The Jesuits.—At the instance of John III—the patron of the Society of Jesus—six members of that society went

to Brazil in 1549 led by Manoel de Nobrega. The Jesuits began their labors in and about Bahia. They tried to keep the Portuguese colonists from forsaking the Catholic faith, and preached fervently against their vice and immorality. On the other hand, they strove to convert the aborigines, and urged them to forsake cannibalism. They built churches, translated the Church litany into Indian languages, and founded schools. Shortly after the arrival of a group of Jesuits in 1553—who were led by José de Anchieta—Nobrega established upon an elevated plain an academy which he designated the College of São Paulo. Members of the Society of Jesus founded academies or seminaries in other parts of Brazil. Indefatigable Jesuits made settlements along the frontier and undertook the conversion of the natives.

The Early Brazilian Church.—The first bishopric of Brazil was established at Bahia in 1551. Originally the bishop of Bahia was a suffragan of the bishop of Lisbon. For more than a century the bishop of Bahia exercised jurisdiction over all of Brazil. Because of that reason, and because of the multitude and the splendor of its churches and chapels, the city of Bahia was long considered the center of Brazilian religious life.

Relations of Church and State.—The fundamental provision about the relations between Church and State in Brazil was the bull of Pope Julius III to King John III in 1551. That bull granted to the king and his successors in perpetuity, as Grand Masters of the Orders of Aviz, Christ, and Santiago, complete ecclesiastical and spiritual jurisdiction over their conquests. It conceded to John III the right to nominate bishops, to collect tithes, to dispense revenues for churches, alms, and religious feasts, and to hear cases by appeal from ecclesiastical courts.

Houses of Mercy.—About the middle of the sixteenth century Brazilian magistrates began to sanction the creation of houses of mercy which were often managed by religious orders. Those houses served as lodgings for pilgrims, asylums for orphans, hospitals for the sick, and almshouses for the poor. Eventually it became the custom to establish in each important town or city an insti-

tution consecrated to such purposes which was frequently designated the *Sancta Casa de Misericórdia*. In 1582 a house of mercy was founded at Rio de Janeiro. This became the most opulent and famous charitable institution in Latin America.

Huguenots Plan a Colony in Brazil.—About the middle of the sixteenth century the French, whose mariners had occasionally visited the American coast, became deeply interested in South America. Admiral Coligny formed a plan to establish there a refuge for persecuted Calvinists. Henry II of France encouraged the project; and in 1555, under the command of an adventurer called Nicolas Villegagnon, a company of Huguenots sailed from Havre for Brazil. Upon a rocky islet in the Bay of Rio de Janeiro they built a fort named Coligny. There the Huguenots suffered from the scarcity of food and water. They soon suspected that their leader was not a true Protestant. Religious dissensions broke out among them; and Villegagnon severely punished those colonists who conspired against his arbitrary rule. Although other Huguenots soon arrived at Fort Coligny—the vanguard of what promised to be a great migration—yet they did not find under Villegagnon the much-desired toleration.

The Struggle with the French.—Meantime, Governor-General Mem de Sá undertook to expel the French from the Bay of Rio de Janeiro. By the aid of reënforcements from Portugal, he invested the entrance to that bay, defeated the French garrison, and demolished Fort Coligny. As a check against the return of Frenchmen who had fled into the interior, in 1567 Mem de Sá founded the city of Rio de Janeiro. Later the designs of the French upon other portions of the Brazilian coast were thwarted, and although they eventually planted settlements upon the coast of Guiana, yet their dream of “Antarctic France” was forever shattered.

Philip II of Spain Becomes King of Portugal.—Significant events in Portugal profoundly affected Brazil. In 1578 the imprudent young King Sebastian was defeated and killed at the battle of Alcacer Quibir, while aiding the sultan of Morocco against a pretender. A senile, childless

cardinal, Henry of Aviz, succeeded to the Portuguese throne. Intrigue was rife about the succession, even before King Henry died in January, 1580. Prominent among candidates for the Portuguese crown were Antonio, prior of Crato, the Duchess Catherine of Braganza, and Philip II of Spain. Scarcely had Portuguese patriots proclaimed Antonio as their king, when Philip II sent an army under the Duke of Alva into Portugal. The patriots were soon dispersed, Portuguese fortresses were given up to the Spaniards, and a price was placed upon the head of the fugitive Antonio. The Portuguese Côrtes which assembled at Thomar in April, 1581, proclaimed Philip II of Spain as king. As King Philip I of Portugal he was accordingly recognized not only in Lisbon but also in Rio de Janeiro.

Philip II King of Portuguese Indies.—The history of Portuguese America during the "sixty years' captivity," 1580-1640, can be conveniently postponed. In the following chapter there will be indicated the influence of Spanish domination upon the administration of Brazil.

Summary.—As elsewhere indicated, the early Spanish colonies in America were ordinarily colonies of conquest. To settlements in the New World the flora and fauna of the Old World were transported. Reciprocally flora of the Americas were taken to the Old World. In Brazil, as well as in Spanish America, the Jesuits and other religious orders started a wonderful crusade to convert the aborigines—a crusade in which they often served as path-breakers of civilization. Certain Iberian institutions were transplanted to America, where in a fresh soil some of them were much altered in body and in spirit. Of all the institutions adapted in Spanish America probably the most primary was the *audiencia* that frequently furnished the framework to which other institutions were fitted. It was during the sixteenth century that Spain laid in America the foundations of her system of colonial administration. She undertook to do this by taking the place in colonial life of the conquistadors or of their successors. As has aptly been said of Spain by an eminent American historian, she often tried to reap where she had not

sown. In contrast with the main course of English expansion in North America, the advance of Spanish power in South America was marked by the founding of towns and cities at strategic points, leaving vast intermediate areas unsettled. Portugal was slower in developing a colonial system than Spain, if indeed she may be said to have developed a distinctive system at all. Both the Spanish and the Portuguese were constrained—partly because of the economic system prevailing in their motherlands—to use the aborigines as laborers. The Spaniards soon used the Indians in the exploitation of gold and silver mines, while the Portuguese employed them in the tillage of their sugar plantations. They thus erected a social structure that long endured in some portions of Latin America.

CHAPTER V

THE OLD RÉGIME IN LATIN AMERICA

Advance of Spanish Power in New Spain.—During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Spaniards made many advances in the New World. Not the least notable of those movements was the extension of Spanish influence from the ancient center of Aztec power. Itinerant padres strove to convert the aborigines and to teach them the rudiments of civilization. Persevering missionaries pushed into the region occupied by the Yaqui Indians. By the middle of the seventeenth century Jesuit missions had been planted in the upper Sonora Valley. In 1687 a scholarly Jesuit named Eusebio Kino founded the mission of Nuestra Señora de Dolores on the banks of San Miguel River. From that mother mission he made many exploring expeditions and eventually proceeded beyond the northern frontiers of present Mexico. This indefatigable pioneer undertook in 1695 to promote the establishment of missions in Lower California—a project in which he was only temporarily successful. Meantime missionaries and miners were advancing northward over the central Mexican plateau.

Spanish Borderlands.—In the province which Oñate had explored and where missions were being founded by Franciscans, Governor Peralta established the town of Santa Fé in 1609. A fierce insurrection of the Pueblo Indians against their Catholic overlords that began in 1680 was not subjugated until the end of the century. About the middle of the seventeenth century the Spaniards pushed their settlements beyond the frontiers of the province of Nueva León and in 1687 a new province called Coahuila was organized. Incited by reports of French designs upon Texas, in 1686 Alonzo de León led an ex-

ploring party into that region. An enterprising Franciscan named Hidalgo, who proceeded from the College of Santa Cruz at Querétaro, planted a permanent settlement in 1718 at San Antonio, which became the center of Spanish operations in Texas. The activities of English smugglers upon the borders of Louisiana—which Spain had acquired from France upon the termination of the Seven Years' War—moved the Spaniards to employ French officers and fur traders to fasten their hold upon that vast province. The settlement of Upper California, a land fabled to be rich in gold, diamonds, and pearls, was repeatedly undertaken by Spaniards from Mexico in the latter part of the seventeenth century. At last, as the result of expeditions by land and sea directed by Juan de Portolá, who was aided by a Franciscan padre named Junípero Serra, in 1769 a mission was founded at San Diego and the beautiful Bay of San Francisco was discovered. In the following year Portolá succeeded in planting a mission at Monterey. Three other Franciscan missions were established in Upper California in 1771 and 1772. A toilsome trip overland from Sonora led by a venturesome frontiersman named Juan Bautista de Anza resulted in the founding of a mission at San Francisco in 1776. Subsequently the indefatigable Padre Serra, "the outstanding Spanish pioneer of California," planted nine other missions on the Pacific coast. By the opening of the nineteenth century Franciscan padres were directing the activities of a chain of missions along the coast of Upper California. Those missions were guarded by forts that were called presidios.

Religious Orders in Central America.—The colonization of Central America proceeded slowly. Here, too, the exploration of the interior and the planting of settlements was largely carried on by members of religious orders. Jesuits were active in Nicaragua, Franciscans in Honduras, and Franciscans and Recollets in Guatemala. By the middle of the seventeenth century the city of Santiago contained monasteries belonging to six different religious orders. Shiploads of Scotchmen tried in vain in 1698 and 1700 to establish a colony on the Isthmus of Panama.

The Founding of Towns and Cities in New Granada.—During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many towns and cities were founded in northern South America. Near a sand bar at the mouth of the Magdalena River there was founded in 1629 a town called Barranquilla that became a terminus of navigation and a commercial emporium. About the middle of the seventeenth century, as a result of the activities of Jesuit padres who had been converting the aborigines, a town named Quibdó was established upon the left bank of the Atrato River. An important colonizing movement took place around Antioquia. Mining towns were built in its neighborhood, and in time some attention was paid to agriculture. Rude roads were constructed which linked Antioquia to adjacent towns and to the Magdalena River. In the heart of this busy region a thriving village developed which became known as Medellín. A few years later the town of Socorro, which had been erected upon the ruins of an Indian pueblo, was transferred to another site upon the banks of an eastern tributary of the Magdalena. Among other towns and cities that were founded during the eighteenth century were Bucaramanga, Cúcuta, and Rionegro.

Colonization of Venezuela.—In 1637, after certain aborigines had been subjugated by Juan de Urpin, the city of Barcelona was founded upon the Venezuelan coast. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries members of the Capuchin and Franciscan orders were busily engaged in the conversion of Indians in northeastern Venezuela. Meantime Spanish colonists in Guiana were compelled to struggle against the aborigines and also to resist the intrusion of Dutch, English, and French adventurers who proceeded from European settlements north of the Amazon.

Expansion in the Viceroyalty of Peru.—Upon the Pacific coast of South America English and Dutch corsairs frequently preyed upon the Spanish settlements. In the vast viceroyalty of Peru the process of settlement often went hand-in-hand with the exploitation of mines. In 1604 at the base of a group of hills northeast of Potosí a

mining town was erected which was called Oruro. Tradition places the date of the discovery of the celebrated silver mines at Cerro de Pasco at 1630. It is clear that after this date those mines were exploited by Indian laborers under the direction of Spanish overseers. By way of Huanuco and Tarma friars of the Franciscan order penetrated the wilderness as far as the Ucayli River. Jesuit fathers built rude missions along the upper tributaries of the Amazon. Franciscans and Jesuits explored portions of the upper Amazon basin. Throughout that remote region and also in parts of the Peruvian highlands those missionaries gathered the Indians into villages called *reducciones*.

In Chile.—In Chile the colonists had to prosecute an almost unrelenting warfare with the Araucanian Indians. Near the end of the seventeenth century the Spanish government vainly attempted to subjugate those Indians by the use of Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries. To fortify this attempt the governor of Chile made settlements along the exposed frontier. Among those was Talca. At the instance of the governor, from 1740 to 1745 other towns and cities were established. To the north of Santiago the towns of San Felipe and Copiapó were founded; and to the south Rancagua, San Fernando, and Los Angeles. Subsequently other settlements were planted near Concepción, also to the north of Santiago, and upon the island of Juan Fernández.

Progress in la Plata Region.—East of the Andes explorations were being carried on from existing settlements. In 1683 colonists from Tucumán founded the city of Catamarca. From time to time daring explorers and Jesuit missionaries ventured into the unknown wilderness called the Chaco. In 1779 when Colonel Cornejo was about to relinquish his plan to descend the Bermejo River from Peru, a Franciscan monk named Morillo continued the trip to Corrientes. Meantime, Jesuit fathers had made explorations along the Atlantic coast south of Buenos Aires. Early in 1779 an expedition commanded by Juan de la Piedra and led by a pilot named Villarino discovered the mouth of the Río Negro. Soon afterward

Villarino ascended that river some distance and returned to Buenos Aires. Acting under instructions to check the southward advance of the Portuguese, in December, 1726, Governor Zabala of Buenos Aires authorized the planting of a town called Montevideo on the northern bank of la Plata estuary. Twenty-three years afterward the Spanish King created the post of governor of Montevideo.

The Creation of New Audiencias.—During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the administration of the Spanish colonies in America became more complex. In 1609 the Chilean audiencia—which had been at Concepción—was definitely located at Santiago de Chile. It was subordinated to the Peruvian viceroy and was given jurisdiction over the territory stretching from the Straits of Magellan to the limits of the province of Cuyo. In 1661 King Philip IV decided to establish an audiencia at Buenos Aires with jurisdiction over the provinces of Río de la Plata, Paraguay, and Tucumán. That tribunal was abolished in 1671 but reestablished in 1783. Three years later the Spanish King resolved to withdraw the islands of Trinidad and Margarita with the neighboring provinces of Maracaibo, Cumaná, and Guiana from the jurisdiction of the audiencia of Santo Domingo, in order to create a new tribunal which was located at Caracas. In the following year the king ordered that an audiencia should be established at Cuzco which should have jurisdiction over the bishopric of Cuzco and possibly over other districts. The ancient dignity of the Inca capital was thus recognized. Meantime the Spanish government had created officials named regents who were to preside over colonial audiencias.

The Viceroyalty of New Granada.—Until the beginning of the eighteenth century the audiencias of Panama, Quito, and Santa Fé were subordinated to the viceroyalty of Peru. In 1717, however, King Philip V provided for the installation of a new viceroy at Santa Fé de Bogotá. Six years afterward that viceregal office was abolished. Yet in 1739 the King reestablished the viceroyalty of New Granada with jurisdiction over South America from the northern limits of the area which was under the jurisdic-

tion of the audiencia of Panama to the southern boundary of the region controlled by the tribunal at Quito.

Captaincies General.—Three years later, because of the great distance between Santa Fé de Bogotá and Caracas, King Philip V issued an order declaring that the governor and captain general of Venezuela should be entirely independent of the viceroy of New Granada. In 1777 King Charles III issued an order directing that the provinces of Cumaná, Guiana, and Maracaibo, with the islands of Margarita and Trinidad, should be placed under the military and political control of the Venezuelan captain general. The captaincy general of Venezuela was thus definitively established. In the same year the King provided for the creation of the captaincy general of Cuba. The chief executive of Chile—who as governor, captain general, and president of the royal audiencia had been subordinate to the Peruvian viceroy—was designated a captain general in 1778. Twenty years later by a royal decree the Chilean captain general was declared completely independent of the viceroy of Peru. By that date the captain general of Central America had become practically independent of the viceroy of New Spain.

The Viceroyalty of la Plata.—In 1776 the viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata was created. It included the provinces of Buenos Aires, Paraguay, Tucumán, Potosí, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas, and Cuyo. A large portion of this territory had been originally assigned to the viceroy of Peru, and a small section had been included within the jurisdiction of the captaincy general of Chile. The capital of the viceroyalty of la Plata was located at the city of Buenos Aires. On the west its boundary was the cordillera which separated the province of Buenos Aires from Chile; while on the northwest its bounds were the limits of the audiencia of Charcas. It stretched from the mouth of the Río de la Plata to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Straits of Magellan to the southern sources of the Amazon.

The Interior Provinces of New Spain.—The latter part of the eighteenth century was marked by significant administrative reforms in Spanish America. A new subdi-

vision, which was designated the interior provinces of New Spain, was carved out of Spain's over-sea dominions by a decree of August 22, 1776. This decree provided that northern New Spain should be placed under the military and political control of a commandant-general who was conceded independence of the viceroy in Mexico City. In theory this was little less than the establishment of a new viceroyalty in North America. In 1804 provision was made that the interior provinces should be divided into two districts: the interior provinces of the east, and the interior provinces of the west. Obviously the intention was to place each of those regions under the control of a separate commander. This reorganization has been interpreted as an attempt by Spain to prevent the disintegration of her vast domain in America.

Introduction of Intendants into Spain, Cuba, and Venezuela.—An official who ultimately proved a galling restraint upon viceroys, captains general and presidents was the intendant. The Spanish rulers borrowed that official from France. Introduced into the military and financial administration of Spain in the early eighteenth century, that institution was later transplanted to Spanish America. On October 31, 1764, a royal decree provided for the establishment at Havana of an intendant of the army and the treasury. It transferred the management of civil, ecclesiastical, and military revenues from the captain general of Cuba to an intendant. That officer was also given charge of such matters as contraband trade, fortifications, and royal lands. Equal in rank to the captain general, he received his instructions from the King with whom he might correspond directly. He presided over the tribunal of accounts at Havana, which in 1775 supervised the finances of the Windward Islands and Louisiana, as well as Cuba. On September 8, 1777, the King appointed an intendant of the army and the treasury for Venezuela who was to reside in the city of Caracas. The intendant framed the fiscal regulations for the captaincy general, audited its accounts, and appointed fiscal officials. He regulated agriculture, trade, and navigation, and for a time acted as a judge in cases relating to commerce. He

used the governors of the provinces as his agents in fiscal affairs. Nominally, at least, he was entirely independent of the other officials of the captaincy general and might correspond directly with the King.

The Ordinance of Intendants of 1782.—Early in 1778 provision was made for the establishment of an intendant of the army and the treasury at Buenos Aires. In 1782 an ordinance was issued by the Spanish government which provided for the creation of intendancies in the viceroyalty of la Plata. As modified in 1783, that ordinance divided the viceroyalty into eight districts: a chief intendant with supervisory authority was to reside at Buenos Aires, while seven subordinate intendants were to be located at important provincial cities. Each intendant was given charge of affairs relating to justice, police, finance, and war in his respective district. The intendant-general at Buenos Aires was in reality made an administrative head of the viceroyalty.

Intendants in Peru and Chile.—In 1784 Viceroy Teodoro de Croix framed regulations for the introduction of intendants into Peru. The viceroyalty was soon divided into seven intendancies: the chief intendant with direct control over northern Chile was to be located at Santiago, while a subordinate intendant was placed in Concepción with jurisdiction over the territory stretching from the river Maule to the Araucanian frontier.

The Ordinance of Intendants of 1786.—As early as 1765 a capable administrator named José de Gálvez had been sent from Spain to Mexico as *visitador* with instructions to inspect and reform the fiscal and judicial administration of the viceroyalty. In 1768 Gálvez recommended to King Charles III that the system of intendants should be introduced into New Spain. On December 4, 1786, an ordinance of intendants for New Spain was promulgated. The ordinance divided that viceroyalty, including Yucatan and the interior provinces, into twelve intendancies. Again the magistrate located at the capital city was made the chief intendant. Intendants were given control over matters relating to justice, police, finance, and war in their respective districts. Each intendant was to see that

justice was administered in his district with rectitude, celerity, and economy. He was to superintend agriculture and industry within his intendancy; he was to oversee markets, inns, bridges, public granaries, money, and vagrants, and also the police of towns and cities. He was to supervise public finance within his district: he was given charge of the royal properties, confiscations, and prizes; and he was entrusted with the collection of the revenues from tithes, tributes, monopolies, and taxes. He had charge of matters relating to arsenals and hospitals within his intendancy, and to the inspection, provisioning, and transfer of troops. Intendants in other sections of Spanish America were instructed to follow the ordinance of intendants for New Spain as far as conditions would allow.

Intendants in Central America.—About 1790 the system of intendants was extended to Central America. The provinces of the captaincy general were arranged in four intendancies: Chiapas, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador. As the intendancies sometimes coincided in area with existing provinces, in certain parts of Spanish America the system of fiscal administration encouraged a spirit of sectionalism.

Political Jurisdictions in Spanish America in the End of the Eighteenth Century.—By the end of the eighteenth century twelve audiencias had been established in America. The most important audiencias were located at the capitals of viceroyalties or captaincies general but scarcely of minor importance were the tribunals of Quito and Charcas. In the areas subject to those tribunals and—partly because of historic reasons—also in the district under the control of the audiencia of Cuzco, there developed an autonomous spirit. There were four captaincies general—in the special sense of that term—in the Spanish Indies: Chile, Cuba, Guatemala or Central America, and Venezuela. By the end of the eighteenth century the captains general of Chile, Central America, and Venezuela were practically independent of the neighboring viceroys. Shortly after the Declaration of Independence was signed at Philadelphia there were four viceroyalties in the Indies:

New Spain or Mexico, New Granada, Peru, and la Plata or Buenos Aires. The presidencies, the captaincies general, and especially the viceroyalties, furnished the lines for later political divisions.

The Commandancy of Mainas.—Early in the nineteenth century the jurisdiction of the viceroyalty of Peru was considerably extended. A royal decree of July 15, 1802, ordered the transfer from the president of Quito to the Peruvian viceroy of a region designated the commandancy of Mainas which was a frontier district where Franciscan missionaries were converting the aborigines. According to the decree, that commandancy included an area which was drained by the upper tributaries of the Amazon: it stretched from the Yavarí River to the river Caquetá, and extended on the east to the Portuguese frontiers. On July 7, 1803, a similar royal order was issued which provided for the transfer of the province of Guayaquil from the viceroy of New Granada to the viceroy of Peru.

Town and City Government.—An important institution of local government was the *cabildo*. Colonial *cabildos* were ordinarily composed of *alcaldes* or judges, and *regidores*, who may be compared to aldermen. Ordinarily there were two *alcaldes* in each *cabildo*, while the number of *regidores* depended upon the size of the town. At the end of the eighteenth century the *cabildo* of Caracas was composed of the captain general ex-officio, two *alcaldes*, twelve *regidores* whose offices might be bought or sold, four *regidores* nominated by the king from Spanish residents of the city, and four other officials whose offices were purchasable. In Spanish-American cities it was the custom to convoke upon extraordinary occasions an open meeting of the *cabildo* (*cabildo abierto*), which was composed of the town council enforced by other citizens whom the town officials had invited to attend. A *cabildo abierto*—which was the assemblage most closely resembling a New England town meeting—might, however, only be held with the consent of the chief executive of the city.

"Civilized" Indians.—In time steps were taken to regulate the administration of towns and villages inhabited by Indians who had been civilized by the Spaniards. At

tempts were made to preserve the rights and privileges of the caciques. The Indians of a *reducción* or a village were allowed to select *alcaldes* and *regidores*, who had duties similar to those of corresponding officials in Spanish cities. In some parts of the Indies the Spanish government appointed *corregidores* to reside in Indian towns and villages in order to represent the government and to protect the Indians against oppression.

Emigration from Spain to Spanish America.—Almost from the beginning emigration from Spain to Spanish America was under the control of the House of Trade. According to the Laws of the Indies, a Spaniard might only embark for America when granted a license and after he had proved that he was an orthodox Catholic. Partly because of the harassing restrictions about emigration the number of Spaniards who proceeded to the Indies was small. In the early nineteenth century a well-informed foreigner residing at Caracas estimated that not more than one hundred Spaniards annually emigrated to the captaincy general of Venezuela.

Foreigners in the Indies.—The Laws of the Indies contained various provisions concerning aliens. Despite prohibitory laws, some foreigners occasionally ventured into Spain's colonies. In the eighteenth century such persons were permitted to reside in Spanish America upon the payment of a license tax, but they did not enjoy all the privileges of a Spanish citizen. Some persons born outside of Spain took advantage of her naturalization laws; for a naturalized citizen of Spain was ordinarily allowed in the Indies the rights of a natural-born citizen. Especially did Spain aim to prevent foreigners from engaging in commerce with her colonists. In 1776 a royal order was issued stipulating that no foreigners should be permitted to reside in Spanish America or to trade with its inhabitants without a royal license and providing that unlicensed foreigners should be immediately deported from the Indies. Yet English merchants evaded those restrictions in manifold ways. In particular did they introduce their goods into northern South America and into the viceroyalty of la Plata.

Commerce between Spain and Her Colonies.—Commerce with the Indies was for a long period managed by the House of Trade. As that body was first located at Seville and later at Cadiz, trade with the Spanish colonies was for many decades restricted to merchants of those cities. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the commerce between Spain and Spanish America was regularly carried on by fleets of merchant vessels which were convoyed across the Atlantic Ocean either to Mexico or to the Isthmus of Panama. At that juncture direct trade might legally be carried on only between a few ports in Spanish America and certain ports in Spain.

Modifications of Her Commercial Policy in the Eighteenth Century.—By a series of measures, however, Spain gradually abandoned certain features of her commercial system. Partly due to the influence of liberal political economists, she abolished the practice of carrying on commerce with the Indies by fleets. These were replaced by registered vessels which were conceded permits to sail from Spain to particular ports of Spanish America. In the third decade of the eighteenth century permission was granted to certain Spanish merchants to carry on direct trade from Spain with Buenos Aires. In 1764 Charles III, the reforming king, established mail packets which plied every month or two between Coruña and certain ports in Spanish America. By a royal decree of October 16, 1765, Spaniards were conceded the right freely to carry on commerce between nine Spanish ports and certain ports in the islands of Cuba, Santo Domingo, Porto Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad. A few years later this freedom of intercourse was extended to Yucatan, Campeche, and Louisiana. About the same time the King swept away some of the restrictions that had long hindered the direct interchange of products between certain regions in America.

The Reform Law of 1778.—On October 12, 1778, a law was promulgated that marked a significant change in Spanish colonial policy. In addition to the ports specified in the decree of 1765, this law named thirteen other ports in the Balearic and Canary Islands and in Spain that might

carry on commerce with Spanish-American ports. It opened to that trade twenty-four additional ports in Spanish America, including Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Valparaiso, Arica, Callao, Guayaquil, Cartagena, and Santa Marta. With regard to the payment of duties, those Spanish-American towns and cities were grouped into major and minor ports: the minor ports should collect duties of one and one-half per cent upon the value of Spanish products that might be imported, and duties of four per cent upon the products of foreign countries; while the major ports should collect duties of three per cent upon Spanish and of seven per cent upon foreign products. Article XXII of the law provided that all goods manufactured in Spain from wool, cotton, and flax should be exempt from duties at Spanish-American ports for ten years. In order to promote the development of the national merchant marine, the law further provided that Spanish vessels which were exclusively burdened with national products should enjoy a reduction of one-third of the regular duties, while Spanish vessels which had cargoes that were two-thirds national products should enjoy a reduction of one-fifth. This reform law gave the commerce between Spain and her American colonies a great stimulus. It has been calculated that from 1772 to 1776 there only entered Buenos Aires thirty-five vessels, while during each year from 1792 to 1796, there entered that port more than fifty ships. Another liberal measure was taken because of a war between Spain and England: in 1797 a royal decree was issued providing that, subject to certain restrictions, neutral vessels might engage in the carrying trade with the Spanish colonies.

Spain's Paternalistic Policy toward Industry.—Spain's policy toward her colonies was not only animated by a spirit of monopoly but also by a spirit of paternalism. At various times viceroys were instructed to encourage the cultivation by the Indians of flax and hemp. In the end of the sixteenth century the Spanish government prohibited the extension of grape culture in the Indies. Early in the following century Peruvian viniculturists were further harassed by a prohibition upon the export of

their wines. The Spanish government thus even aimed to prevent Peruvian wines from competing with Spanish wines in colonial markets. Another illustration of Spain's restrictive policy may be found in a decree of 1614 which provided that tobacco might be freely sown in Spanish America only upon the condition that that portion of the product which was not consumed in the colonies should be transported to Seville. Early in the nineteenth century wool produced in the Indies was allowed to enter Spain free of duty, but a heavy tax was laid upon its exportation to foreign countries.

Tariff Policy.—Duties upon goods entering the ports of the Indies were levied in accordance with the tenets of the mercantile system. The imposts were levied so as to favor the home producer at the expense of the colonist. Certain colonial products were subjected to duties when exported from the colonies. Here an illustration may be taken from Venezuela. At the end of the eighteenth century products raised or manufactured in Spain which were imported into Venezuela were so lightly taxed that they were termed free articles. Articles produced abroad but finished in Spain paid duties aggregating about twelve and one-half per cent before they were landed at Venezuelan wharves. All goods of foreign manufacture paid duties upon entering Spain that amounted to fifteen per cent, upon departing for America seven per cent, and upon arriving there seven per cent, besides various port dues which further increased the price of all foreign products imported from the mother country. Raw materials that went to supply foreign manufacturers paid heavy duties upon exportation from Spain which afforded the Spanish manufacturers an advantage.

Consulates in Spanish America.—The consulate was transplanted from Spain to Spanish America. During the sixteenth century consulates were established at Mexico City and Lima, which were patterned after the consulates at Burgos and Seville respectively. Before the end of the eighteenth century consulates had also been established at Vera Cruz and Guadalajara. King Charles IV issued a decree in 1793 establishing a consulate at Caracas and

providing that it should be administered according to the ordinances of the consulate of Bilbao. Early in 1794 that King issued a decree creating a consulate at Buenos Aires which was modeled after the consulate of Seville. Among the officials of the consulate of Buenos Aires were two consuls, nine councillors, a secretary, an accountant, and a treasurer. It acted as a tribunal of justice in mercantile disputes and also as a council to promote the advancement of agriculture and commerce. A later order provided that its members should be composed in equal part of merchants and ranchers. Within this consulate some important problems were debated, such as the commercial relations of the viceroyalty of la Plata with foreign nations.

Church Organization.—With the progress of the Catholic faith in America the Church gradually perfected its organization. In the end of the eighteenth century there were six archbishoprics in Spanish America: Santo Domingo, Mexico, Guatemala or Central America, Lima, Caracas, and Santa Fé de Bogotá.

Archbishoprics and Bishoprics.—The archbishopric of Santo Domingo was composed of five bishoprics: Caracas, Cuba, Louisiana, Porto Rico, and Cuayaba. In the archbishopric of Mexico there were eight dioceses, Tlascala or Puebla de los Angeles, Valladolid de Michoacán, Oajaca or Antequera, Guadalajara, Yucatan or Mérida, Nueva Viscaya or Durango, León or Linares, and Sonora. There were three suffragan bishops in the archbishopric of Guatemala: Concuyagua or Honduras, Nicaragua, and Chiapas. The archbishopric of Lima had nine bishops: Arequipa, Trujillo, Quito, Cuzco, Guamanga, Panama, Santiago de Chile, Concepción, and Nueva Cuenca. In 1802 another bishopric was erected in the missions of Mainas. The archbishopric of Characas was composed of five dioceses; namely, La Paz, Tucumán, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Paraguay or Asunción, and Buenos Aires. Four bishoprics were found in the archbishopric of Santa Fé de Bogotá: Popayán, Carthagena, Santa Marta and Mérida. After the creation of the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires, the diocese of Tucumán was divided into the bish-

opric of Salta, and the bishopric of Tucumán, which was enlarged by the addition of the province of Cuyo that was separated from Chile. In 1803 an archbishopric was established at Caracas that included the provinces within the captaincy general of Venezuela.

Chapters, Cabildos, and Vicars.—In each cathedral church there was a chapter composed of a variable number of canons, prebendaries, and other dignitaries who formed the archbishop's council. When an archbishop died the respective chapter governed the archbishopric through a vicar. The spiritual jurisdiction in certain cities was controlled by a *cabildo* of ecclesiastics. In towns and cities where there was no chapter or ecclesiastical council the spiritual authority was ordinarily exercised by vicars who had delegated powers. Members of the regular orders either depended upon ecclesiastical provinces of Spain or they were organized into provinces distinct from those of the motherland.

Church and State.—Ecclesiastical divisions in Spanish America did not always coincide with the administrative areas. After the captaincy general of Chile was carved out of the viceroyalty of Peru, the bishop of Santiago remained for some time a suffragan of the archbishop of Lima. Although no bishops or archbishops from America were present at the Council of Trent, yet the Pope held that the Indies were under its jurisdiction. By the authority of the Spanish King or a colonial magistrate provincial councils were occasionally held in sections of Spanish America. After being endorsed by the bishop, the resolutions of such councils had to be approved by the chief executive or the audiencia of the respective district before they were put into force. If the latter disapproved them, they had to be sent to the Council of the Indies to be sanctioned or disallowed. The supremacy of the Spanish crown was also demonstrated by the custom which prevented any bull, brief, or dispensation of the Pope from being promulgated in the colonies without the consent of the Council of the Indies.

Extension and Activities of the Inquisition.—In September, 1610, an inquisitorial tribunal was established at

Carthagena which had jurisdiction over the Caribbean regions, with the exception of Central America. Inquisitorial tribunals regularly published the edict of faith and staged *autos-de-fé* at Spanish-American capitals. They strove to prevent the impersonation of priesthood and to eradicate bigamy, heresy, and sorcery. Their punishments were chiefly fines, confiscations, exile, and—in extreme cases—death. Inquisitors occasionally wasted their time in quarrels with secular officials. A most important function of the Inquisition in America was censorship: books, works of art, and even fancy razors were rigidly scrutinized by its ubiquitous agents. It is to be presumed that the effect of Spanish-American inquisitorial tribunals upon the Catholic faith was slight, while the stifling influence which they exerted upon intellectual life cannot be measured.

Spanish Law in America.—In accordance with the doctrine that the supreme authority resided in the King, the legislation for Spanish America was promulgated and executed in his name. The laws which early applied in the colonies were those Spanish codes that existed at the epoch of the conquest, supplemented by special laws formulated for the regulation of American affairs. The Spanish codes that lay at the basis of the legal system of the Indies accordingly were: the *Siete Partidas*, the *Leyes de Toro*, and the *Nueva Recopilación*.

Special Laws and Their Codification.—Other legislation was found necessary for the Indies. Special laws that were ordinarily formulated through the Council of the Indies regulated various branches of administration. The number and peculiar character of those laws soon created a crying demand for their codification. Officials in America undertook to collect them, while jurists in Spain wrote about legal problems of the Indies. Philip II ordered that a code of the laws of the Indies should be prepared, omitting what was unnecessary, making additions where necessary, clearing up obscurities, and reconciling discords. Various jurists labored upon the compilation which was finally promulgated in 1680. This was the *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias*.

The Laws of the Indies.—Almost every page of this comprehensive code reveals the humane intentions of the

Spanish monarchs. It was composed of nine books which were subdivided into titles. Twenty-four titles dealt with the Church, ecclesiastical imposts, the Inquisition, universities, and learning. Thirty-four titles dealt with certain administrative matters, such as the audiencias and the Council of the Indies. Sixteen titles were concerned with viceroys, military affairs, corsairs and pirates, and the mail service. Twenty-six titles of a miscellaneous character were concerned with discoveries, colonization, *cabildos*, *repartimientos*, public works, mines, banks, and pearl fisheries. Fifteen titles related to such matters as governors, *corregidores*, *alcaldes*, trials, appeals, and the *residencia*. Nineteen titles were devoted to the aborigines: *reducciones*, pueblos, tribal properties, tributes, caciques, *encomenderos*, and personal services. Eight titles dealt with divers matters which were mainly judicial: judges, punishments, prisons, mulattoes, negroes, and vagabonds. Thirty titles, which were mainly fiscal in character, dealt with such matters as the royal fifths, the tribute collected from Indians, the administration of the mines, monopolies, taxes, and the sale of offices. Forty-six titles, which were largely commercial, concerned such topics as the House of Trade, the freighting of vessels, navigation, foreigners, and ports.

Their Relation to Spanish Laws.—When the Laws of the Indies were promulgated Charles II ordered that there should still remain in force all the decrees and ordinances that were not contrary to those laws, and that wherever deficient they should be supplemented by the laws of Castile. In the age of Charles IV the Spanish laws were newly codified in *La novísima recopilación*, which was promulgated in 1805.

Colonial Currency.—In 1621 a mint was established at Santa Fé de Bogotá. In 1675 gold coins were first minted in Mexico City. Coins or monetary tokens were also manufactured by private persons, while counterfeiters were not unknown. The coins which circulated in the Indies were eventually those of Spain: the gold coins were doubloons and escudos, while the silver coins were the peso, the half-peso, and the real, and besides there were subsidiary coins of copper. Despite laws and regulations of the Spanish monarchs providing that coins minted in the Indies should be of the same weight and value as those of Castile, the moneys used in

various sections of the Indies were frequently not of the same standard.

Royal Revenues.—The revenues collected by royal agents at the opening of the seventeenth century were of a diverse character. Most of the regular revenues may be conveniently grouped under four overlapping heads: (1) The payments due to the King as lord of the land, including the profits of the coinage, the royal tribute paid by Indians, and his share of the precious metals and precious stones. (2) The payments due to the King in his capacity as head of the Church, including the first-fruits, the tenth part of the agricultural and pastoral products, and the revenue arising from the sale of indulgences. (3) The payments due to the King from royal monopolies, including stamped paper, quicksilver, and tobacco. (4) The payments due to the King from various taxes upon trade or upon commercial transactions, including the *almojarifazgo*, a duty levied upon imports into or exports from the country, and the *alcabala*, a percentage tax upon the sale or transfer of certain articles.

Universities.—In the early seventeenth century a Franciscan friar endowed the University of Córdoba. The faculty of that university was eventually grouped in two colleges: the college of arts, which furnished instruction in such subjects as logic, physics, and metaphysics; and the college of theology, which gave instruction in scholastic and moral theology. The University of San Felipe at Santiago de Chile, which was founded in accordance with a royal decree of 1738, had an irregular and languid existence until 1759, when Valeriano Ahumada became its rector. Patterned after the University of San Marcos, it served as a great stimulus to intellectual life in the captaincy general of Chile. The College of Santa Rosa at Caracas was transformed into a university by a royal decree in 1721. In the eighteenth century that university had nine chairs: Latin, philosophy, theology, music, ethics, medicine, canon law, civil law, and the Scriptures. One of the most notable educational institutions in the Spanish Indies was located at Chuquisaca, for the University of San Francisco Javier, which was founded there upon a preëxisting college in 1624, became a great center of legal study. The official language in these universities was

ordinarily Latin; while the mode of instruction was by texts and lectures, which occasionally were varied by disputations. In conjunction with the universities founded in the sixteenth century, these institutions served the colonists as nurseries of learning.

The Printing Press.—At an early date in the history of the Spanish Indies viceroys and captains general were prohibited from allowing books to be printed within their respective jurisdictions unless they had been censored. A Catholic catechism for the Indians, the first book printed in the viceroyalty of Peru, was published in Lima by permission of the audiencia in 1584. In certain parts of Spanish America the earliest printing was done under the direction of the Jesuits. In 1738 a religious tract was published from the printing press of the Society of Jesus at Santa Fé de Bogotá. It seems that the Jesuits printed a few books clandestinely which had a limited circulation. They apparently set up a printing press at Córdoba in 1765 and printed the first book upon that press in the following year. Upon granting the Jesuits of Córdoba permission to use this press the Peruvian viceroy stipulated that neither should they print any book about the Indies without a special license from the King, nor should they print any book concerning law or the Indian languages unless they had been examined and censored. The printing press earliest used in the city of Buenos Aires was brought there about 1780 from the former Jesuit college at Córdoba.

Colonial Periodicals.—During the eighteenth century gazettes were published intermittently in Mexico. The first number of *Papel periódico de Santa Fé de Bogotá* was published in 1791. In the following year the *Papel periódico ó primicias de la cultura de Quito* was published on the press of the Jesuits at Ambato, in the presidency of Quito. At Lima as early as 1790 there began to appear the *Diario erudito, económico y comercial de Lima*. The initial number of the epoch-marking *Mercurio peruano de historia, literatura y noticias públicas* was published in the same city in 1791. In 1801 the first number of the *Telégrafo mercantil, rural, político-económico e historiógrafo del Río de la Plata* was published at Buenos Aires. In 1807 a journal styled *The*

Star of the South was published at Montevideo in English and Spanish. Not until 1808 did the *Gaceta de Caracas* issue from the press. In general those periodicals contained only a small amount of news besides brief notices of the activities of governmental officials.

Literature of Spanish America.—Literature in Spanish America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was of a varied character. Some literary productions suggestively described the relations of the colonists with the aborigines. In his old age Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascunan wrote an account of his experiences while held a captive by the Araucanian Indians. By a defense of Gongorism, a literary style of affected elegance which was flourishing in Spain, in a book published in 1694, a professor at the University of Cuzco named Juan de Espinosa Medrano made himself widely known in South America. Another Peruvian named Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo Rocha y Benavides was an erudite poet, dramatist, and essayist. In addition to scientific studies, a Mexican professor, Carlos de Sigüenza by name, wrote a poem published in 1668 that narrated the story of the miraculous appearance to an Indian of the Virgin of Guadeloupe. A Mexican beauty who assumed the veil under the name of Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz produced three volumes that included plays and poems. Although some poems were written in Santa Fé de Bogotá, yet the special claim which the viceroyalty of New Granada had to literary distinction during this period was through its historical productions. Of those two may here be mentioned: *Noticias historiales* which was written by Friar Pedro Simón, a Franciscan who settled there about 1604; and the *Historia general del Nuevo Reino de Granada* composed by Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita. The first poet born upon the soil of Argentina was Luis de Tejada who composed an autobiographical poem entitled *El peregrino en Babilonia* and also some mystical poems which have only recently been edited. Near the end of this period Manuel José de Labarden wrote a tragedy entitled *Siripo* which was concerned with the old story of the relations between Indians and white men. Labarden was also the author of a poem entitled *Oda al Paraná* which suggestively described the course of that great river as it meandered through the pampas.

Population.—The population in Spanish America was composed of three basic elements, the white, the aboriginal, and the negro race. These elements were present in varying proportions in different sections. Whites were found mainly along the coast and in the capital cities. In general the Indians were gradually pressed back into the interior: seldom were they exterminated as in the English settlements in North America. Negroes were found in the low, moist, coastal regions, especially in the north. Because of the comparatively small number of Spaniards in the Indies, most of the manual labor was performed by the lower classes, especially by Indians and negroes.

Mixed Classes, Castes.—From the intermixture of the white, black, and red races there resulted a large number of ethnic types. *Mestizos* were the offspring of Indians and whites. *Zambos* were the children of Indians and negroes. Mulattoes were the descendants of negroes and whites. *Pardos* were the offspring of whites and mulattoes. From the crossing of those types there resulted an almost infinite number of blends. The white inhabitants of Spanish America were divided into two great castes: the Peninsular Spaniards, and the so-called creoles, who were persons of Spanish blood that had been born in the Indies. Peninsular Spaniards took precedence of all other classes. By the favor of the Spanish government, they monopolized most of the important offices in Church and State. The creoles played a somewhat peculiar rôle in society. Proud of their American birth, they sometimes viewed the European Spaniards with great jealousy: at certain times they courted the favor of the office-holding class; and at other times they displayed signs of resentment toward their rulers. With a strong trend toward intrigue, the creole caste constituted the volatile, uncertain element in the colonial population—the class most receptive to new ideas.

The Jesuits in Spanish South America.—Let us notice here the distinctive activity of the Jesuits in South America. From Córdoba they penetrated the wilderness inhabited by the Guaraní Indians. Authorized by a royal order, in the seventeenth century they proceeded to found missions upon the banks of the Paraná River. The center of their system was at Candelaria. By the middle of the eighteenth century

they had established more than thirty reductions near the rivers Uruguay, Paraná, and Paraguay. The missions were erected after the same pattern; a square plaza was surrounded by houses upon three sides; on the remaining side was built a church, with the houses of the Jesuit fathers and other structures. Lands were cultivated after a communistic method. In and about the *misiones* were gathered thousands of Indians who were trained by the Jesuits in manual arts and catechized in the Catholic faith.

Empire of the Jesuits.—Under the paternalistic rule of Jesuit fathers, however, the Indian neophytes were deprived of all initiative, if indeed they were not actually kept in a servile condition. In practice the administration of the missions was completely controlled by the friars. As the mild-mannered Indians of the reductions were captured by fierce Portuguese half-breeds as well as by Spanish slave-hunters, the Spanish crown conceded the Jesuits the right to arm their neophytes. The region of the *misiones*—as it was called—became little less than a Jesuit Empire, which served as a bulwark for the Spanish colonists against the expanding Portuguese.

Their Expulsion.—As Charles III suspected the Jesuits of engaging in intrigue against his rule, in 1767 he ordered that they should be expelled from his dominions. After this was done the Jesuit missions fell into decay, the Indians relapsed into barbarism, and Jesuit seminaries were transferred to other orders. At this policy some Spanish Americans felt aggrieved.

Uprisings in Spanish America in the Later Eighteenth Century.—During the last decades of the eighteenth century discontent with Spanish rule was manifested in various sections of the Indies. In 1780 two Frenchmen who were living in Chile, Antoine Berney and Antoine Gramuset, with a Chilean named José Antonio Rojas, formed a conspiracy to promote the independence of the captaincy general from Spain. The Frenchmen sketched a programme for a revolution and framed a constitution for a republic, but the plotters were denounced to the audiencia of Santiago. The “three Antonios” were arrested, secretly tried, and deported. In November, 1780, an insurrection was started in Peru by Tupac

Amaru, a descendant of the Incas. He denounced the Spanish government because of its heavy taxes and other oppressive measures. As a large horde of Indians joined him, some Spanish officials were terrified. But the Peruvian viceroy gathered a large army, marched against the Indian rebels, and put them to rout. Tupac Amaru—who seems to have planned the creation of an independent state—was captured; and in May, 1781, he was brutally executed in the plaza of Cuzco. During the same year, provoked by oppressive monopolies and taxes, the inhabitants of certain towns in the viceroyalty of New Granada rose in revolt. The *comuneros*, as they were known, were so successful that they proposed terms of settlement to the viceregal government—terms which emphasized the abolition or modification of the multiform taxes. Spanish officials agreed to those terms, the tumult was stilled, but the Spanish government did not fulfill the pledges that had been made to the rebels. In 1795 and 1797 uprisings occurred in the neighboring captaincy general of Venezuela, which were partly inspired by foreign influence. The chief conspirators were thrust into dungeons, however, while others escaped to the West Indies. The captain general stated that these conspiracies aimed to subvert Spanish rule and to establish an independent republic.

The Intellectual Awakening.—At this epoch in some parts of Spanish America a keen interest was shown in literature and science. Two great centers of the intellectual awakening were the viceroyalties of Peru and New Granada. At their capitals literary societies were formed which were largely composed of creoles. In both viceroyalties literary journals were founded which disseminated new ideas and aspirations among the people.

Spain's Influence.—Even more important than such indigenous tendencies were influences that emanated from Europe and North America. The doctrines of the Spanish physiocrat Jovellanos became known in certain parts of South America. Spain occasionally stimulated her colonists through scientific expeditions. In 1760 there arrived at Santa Fé de Bogotá a scientist named José C. Mutis, who soon devoted himself to a botanical survey of the viceroyalty of New Granada. With the aid of artists,

draughtsmen, and botanists he prepared a work about the flora of that viceroyalty. A creole pupil of Mutis named Francisco Caldas achieved greater distinction than his master. Caldas gathered astronomical, geographical, and meteorological data; and in 1807 he founded at the capital of New Granada a noteworthy scientific periodical.

French Philosophy.—A special stimulus was given to some Spanish colonists by doctrines that emanated from France. Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Law* which praised the division—as he understood it—of executive, legislative, and judicial authority in the English Constitution; Voltaire's essays, histories, and poems which criticized the Church and other institutions in witty phrases; Raynal's *Philosophical and Political History of the Indies*, an informing volume about colonization that denounced priests and princes; and Diderot's *Encyclopedia* that epitomized the results of free inquiry: these productions stimulated thinkers in various sections of Spanish America. Rousseau's *Social Contract*, published in 1762, which discussed the evils of monarchical rule and formulated the doctrine that governments were properly based upon compacts, conveyed the leaven of revolt to certain Latin Americans. To dissatisfied colonists in Spanish and Portuguese America the French Revolution served as a great example. Some Spanish-American leaders were profoundly influenced by its philosophy. Through a Spanish translation published at Santa Fé de Bogotá in 1794 by an enterprising creole named Antonio Nariño certain colonists in northern South America became familiar with the theories of liberty which the French National Assembly had embodied in its "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen."

English Invasion of la Plata.—Nor was England without an influence in certain quarters of South America. Prominent creoles of Buenos Aires read Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. An unauthorized expedition led by Commodore Popham and General Beresford against the viceroyalty of la Plata in 1806—which resulted in the temporary conquest and occupation of Montevideo and Buenos Aires by English redcoats—weakened the prestige of Spain. It afforded some of her colonists training in the art of war. Further, as the English invaders lowered the duties on imports into the vice-

royalty of la Plata, they encouraged there a spirit of opposition to the Spanish commercial system.

Example of the United States.—To certain South Americans the United States served as a grand exemplar. A Chilean journalist named Camilo Henríquez aptly said that the revolution of the thirteen colonies against England had lighted the sacred fire of liberty upon the American continent. North American revolutionary philosophy had an extensive influence in South America. Early in the nineteenth century a Spanish translation of the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, was circulated in the viceroyalty of New Granada and the captaincy general of Venezuela. The Articles of Confederation were translated into Spanish and circulated in that captaincy general and also in the viceroyalty of la Plata. A Spanish version of the Constitution of the United States was circulated in la Plata, Venezuela, and New Granada.

Brazil.—Because of the absorption of Portugal by Spain administrative practices in Portuguese America tended to approximate those in Spanish America. Brazil became involved in the struggle between the Spaniards and the renaissance Dutch.

The Dutch Conquer Northern Brazil.—The desire of the Dutch to free themselves from Spain inspired them to attack her colonies. In the last part of the sixteenth century the "Beggars of the Sea" began to prey upon Brazilian settlements. They founded the Dutch West India Company to promote colonization in America. Soon after the termination of the twelve-years' truce between Spain and Holland in 1621, the Dutch equipped a fleet to attack Brazil. In 1624 an expedition under Admiral Willekens captured Bahía; but that port soon surrendered to a Spanish fleet. Still the Dutch did not relinquish their colonial designs. In February, 1630, with a fleet of some fifty vessels they besieged Pernambuco. They soon captured that city; and, after several years of struggle, they conquered the northern part of Brazil. In 1637 the Dutch West India Company entrusted the conquered territory to a prince of the House of Orange, Count Maurice of Nassau-Siegen, who proved to be a wise, tolerant, and magnanimous ruler. During his administration—which lasted until 1644—

the somber Portuguese and the gay Fleming lived together in peace.

Teixeira Explores the Amazon River.—During Spanish rule some progress was made in the exploration and settlement of certain portions of Brazil. Attempts to plant colonies were made in the captaincies of Sergipe, Parahyba, Rio Grande de Norte, and Ceará. As reports of the navigability of the Amazon River frequently reached settlements upon the coast, the Spanish government decided to equip an exploring party. On October 28, 1637, an expedition led by Pedro Teixeira, which was composed of about seventy soldiers and a thousand natives, left Pará and started up the river. After reaching the highest navigable point, Teixeira proceeded overland to Quito, where bull fights were held in honor of his achievement. At the request of the Peruvian viceroy, the daring explorer returned by the same route in order to perfect his survey. He reëmbarked upon a tributary of the Napo River and descended the Amazon to Pará, where he landed on December 12, 1639. While upon that wonderful trip Teixeira heard rumors about a race of woman warriors without husbands who were called "Amazons." This name was later applied to the Great River.

Influence of Spanish Rule upon Portuguese.—The administration of Portuguese America was distinctly modified by Spanish rulers. Philip II soon suppressed the inspectors of finance and replaced them by a Council of Finance, which exercised jurisdiction over Brazil. Under his successor Portuguese administration was further assimilated to Spanish administration; for, although the Council of Finance was left in control of the commerce and revenues of Brazil, yet in 1604 it was supplemented by a Council of the Indies which was granted jurisdiction over the civil and religious affairs of the former Portuguese colonies. After December 1, 1640, when Portuguese patriots took possession of Lisbon, and the Duke of Braganza became King of Portugal with the title of John IV, the subordination to Madrid ended. Yet the administration of Brazil did not return to its former condition. To the Council of the Indies and the Council of Finance there was added a Council of State and also a Privy Council. The Council of State made civil appointments for the Por-

tuguese colonies, while the Privy Council nominated candidates for judicial offices. The legal code of Brazil remained the *Ordenações Philippinas*, which in 1643 was confirmed by King John IV.

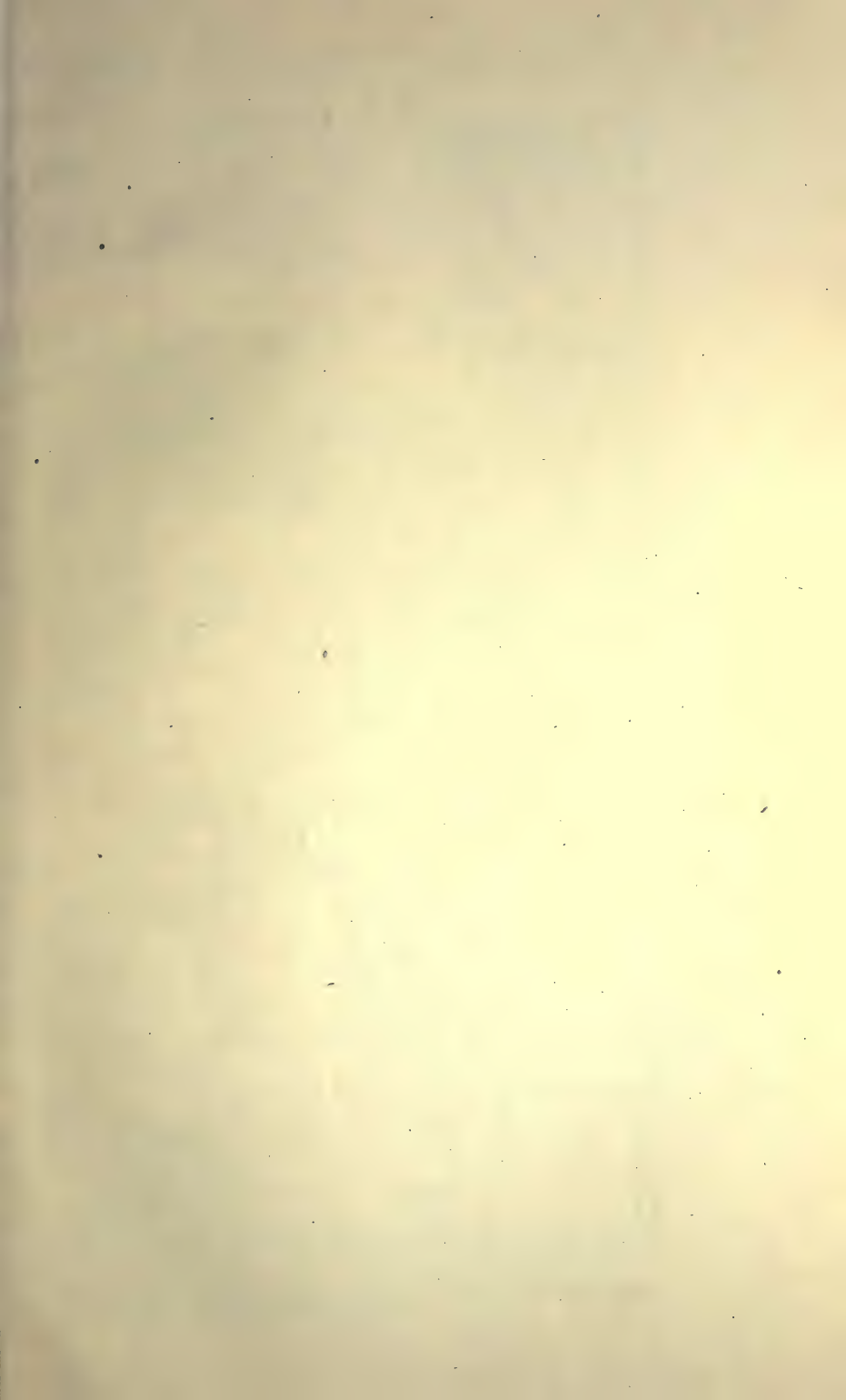
The "Brazilian Iliad."—Soon afterwards an uprising against the Dutch broke out in Pernambuco. This movement, which the Dutch resisted less strenuously because of the success of the nationalistic movement in Portugal, spread throughout northern Brazil. By a treaty signed at The Hague in 1661 Holland formally relinquished her Brazilian possessions. A noted Portuguese historian has not inappropriately styled the reconquest of Pernambuco by his compatriots the "Brazilian Iliad." Yet the Dutch succeeded in retaining their settlements upon the coast of Guiana.

Expansion from São Paulo.—A significant movement of expansion started under the Spanish monarchs. This was the spread of Portuguese influence and settlements through expeditions from São Paulo. At first those expeditions, which began about 1603 and often proceeded up the Tieté River, were largely designed for the purpose of capturing Indians and of selling them as slaves in the markets of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. "Paulistas," as the half-breed adventurers from São Paulo were called, gradually penetrated farther and farther into the interior. In 1618, after gold mines were discovered in a region that had been explored by Paulistas, Philip II framed ordinances for the regulation of the Brazilian mines. Before the end of the seventeenth century gold was found in a region that was designated Minas Geraes and early in the following century diamonds were discovered there. From Minas Geraes pioneers ventured next into a district that was called Goyaz. In the second quarter of the eighteenth century a Paulista named Cabral discovered gold mines at Cuyabá within a region that was eventually called Matto Grosso. In 1742 by way of the Saare, Guaporé, Madeira, and Amazon Rivers, Manuel Felix de Lima made a voyage from Matto Grosso to Pará. Bold adventurers even menaced Jesuit missions in Paraguay. To the far south Paulistas were making explorations and settlements in Paraná, Santa Catherina, and Rio Grande do Sul. In 1680 a town was planted at Colonia on the banks of the Río de

le Plata. In one way or another at many points daring pioneers spread Portuguese influence far beyond the imaginary line that had been sketched by the Treaty of Tordesillas.

Activities of the Jesuits.—In this task they were aided by the Jesuits. In 1653 there arrived in northern Brazil a remarkable Jesuit named Antonio Vieira. At once he began to preach fervently against the enslavement of the Indians. Thwarted in his designs by the opposition of planters and slave hunters, he went to Lisbon where in 1655 he secured a royal decree that placed the Indians under the guardianship of his order. While Vieira was striving with more or less success to protect the Indians, some of his coadjutors were planting missions in the interior of Brazil. Long after his death, the Jesuits prosecuted their labors among the Indians of the hinterland: they founded missions and built chapels along the Great River and its chief tributaries. By the middle of the eighteenth century, they had built a chain of missions across the continent. Portuguese Jesuits from Pará had met Spanish Jesuits from Quito near the headwaters of the Amazon River. Spanish missionaries near the Orinoco River were in communication with Portuguese missionaries upon the river Negro, while far to the south Jesuits from Brazil, as well as from Paraguay, were catechizing the Indians of la Plata basin.

The Creation of New Captaincies.—As a result of the expansion of Portuguese settlements to the north and to the south, as well as into the interior, some changes were made in the number and the extent of the captaincies. In 1621 a so-called "State of Maranhão," including a portion of Brazil southeast of the mouth of the Amazon, was organized and made directly subordinate to the government in the Peninsula. During the following century, however, this state split into the captaincies of Pará, Maranhão, Piauíhy, and Ceará. Meantime new captaincies designated Parahyba do Norte and Rio Grande do Norte were being organized farther south. The captaincy of Bahia was absorbing the two adjacent captaincies of Ilhéos and Porto Seguro, while a region called Sergipe was gaining some autonomy. Springing from the old captaincy of São Vicente and including a portion of the captaincy of Santo Amaro, the new captaincy of São Paulo was defi-





MAP OF GOVERNOR CEVALLOS OF BUENOS AIRES INDICATING THE T.
OF 1750 (from Biedma and Beyer, Atlas hi)

en consecuencia del tratado de límites firmado
por el Ministro Carvajal en la Corte
de Madrid, en 1750.



TORY WHICH SPAIN RELINQUISHED TO PORTUGAL BY THE TREATY
co de la república argentina, PLATE VIII).

nately recognized in 1709. Eleven years later Minas Geraes was made a separate captaincy. In the interior region there were also organized during the first half of the eighteenth century the new captaincies of Goyaz and Matto Grosso. The captaincy of Rio de Janeiro included the original captaincy of Parahyba. Colonists who had spread into the southern portions of Brazil in the second quarter of the eighteenth century were laying the foundations of a new captaincy in the region designated Santa Catharina. In the debatable land still farther south settlements were being made in Rio Grande do Sul which was organized as a separate captaincy early in the nineteenth century.

The Boundary Treaty of 1750.—In theory, until the middle of the eighteenth century, the limits between Spanish and Portuguese America were indicated by the line of demarcation drawn by the Treaty of Tordesillas. That boundary was never surveyed. It was probably because of the cordial relations existing between the crowns of Spain and Portugal that on January 13, 1750, a treaty was signed at Madrid by commissioners of those nations which sketched a new demarcation line between the Spanish and the Portuguese territories in the Indies. By the Treaty of Madrid the Portuguese government recognized the Spanish title to the Philippine Archipelago. On the other hand, this treaty transferred seven flourishing Jesuit missions to Portugal in return for Colonia which was ceded to Spain. It acknowledged the Portuguese claim by settlement to large portions of the Amazon and Paraná basins. It further stipulated that the contracting parties should select commissioners to survey the boundary line. Some time afterwards the two governments appointed commissioners who encountered many difficulties when they attempted to determine the boundary. In addition, the mission Indians upon the Uruguay River fought for three years to prevent the transfer of the Jesuit reductions to Portugal. The enormous territorial gains that Portugal had made in South America by the Treaty of Madrid were graphically depicted by Pedro de Cevallos, governor of the province of Buenos Aires, upon a map indicating the Spanish-Portuguese boundary.

Brazilian Captaincies.—Under both Spanish kings and Portuguese monarchs the power of the captain-donatories steadily decreased. By the middle of the eighteenth century royal agents had displaced captain-donatories as the chief executives in all the Brazilian captaincies. At the end of that century there were seventeen captaincies in Brazil. The governor who administered a captaincy was frequently designated captain general. Ten of those executives—who controlled the more important captaincies—could correspond directly with the Portuguese government, while the others were subordinated to the captains general of the first class.

The Viceroy and the Captains General.—The captain general residing at the capital city was ordinarily called the viceroy. In 1763 the central authority in Brazil was definitely transferred from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. The viceroy and captain general at Rio de Janeiro exercised supervisory authority over the other captains general. Each captain general oversaw all branches of public administration within his district. He was the commander of the military forces; he directed the civil administration, founded cities, and supervised the finances. He presided over a tribunal of accounts, and was further assisted in the fiscal administration by such officials as customhouse officers and superintendents of the mint. Judicial power in each captaincy was in the hands of superior and inferior judges. The final judicial authority in Brazil was vested in two supreme courts: one established in 1609 at Bahia; and the other set up at Rio de Janeiro in 1751. In certain cases appeals might be taken from those tribunals to Lisbon.

Towns and Cities.—Brazilian municipalities scarcely played so important a rôle as the cities of Spanish America. A town in Brazil frequently included the surrounding area. Ordinarily its administration was vested in a council designated a *senado da camera*. The powers of that council were frequently determined by a royal *fóra* or charter which was often modeled upon the charter of a Portuguese city. In theory the officials of a Brazilian city were elective: in practice they were frequently designated by the royal agent who presided over the meetings of its council. Brazilian town councils made regulations concerning local affairs, while the

council of a capital city might even fill temporarily a vacancy in the governorship. Upon exceptional occasions a *senado da camera* might even act as a deliberative assembly.

Organization of the Brazilian Church.—During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the organization of the Brazilian Church became complex. In 1676 Pope Innocent XI issued a bull that made the bishop of Bahia the archbishop of Brazil. By bulls of the same date the Pope created two new dioceses in Brazil: one was located at Rio de Janeiro; and the other at Pernambuco. Soon afterwards he installed a bishop at Maranhão who was, however, made a suffragan of the archbishop of Lisbon. At those cities canons, chapters, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries were installed. Before the end of the eighteenth century bishops were also established at São Paulo, Pará, Marianna, Cuyabá, and Goyaz. Two of the nine Brazilian bishops—those located at Pará and Maranhão—still remained subject to the archbishop of Lisbon. In sharp contrast with the Spanish Indies, tribunals of the Inquisition were not established in Portuguese America.

Portugal's Policy toward Immigration and Commerce.—Portuguese colonial policy was much influenced by the spirit of mercantilism. With regard to immigration into Brazil the policy of Portugal originally was to admit any Catholic, but in 1591 a decree was issued excluding aliens of every religious faith from her colonies. It seems probable that more foreigners settled in Brazil than in Spanish America. Some Jews evidently escaped from the Iberian Peninsula to Brazil. Soon after the accession of John IV the Portuguese government relinquished the policy of carrying on trade with Brazil by convoyed fleets; it sanctioned the formation of a commercial company which was entrusted with the monopoly of transportation between Portugal and Brazil. In 1765, when an ambitious and intrepid minister named the Marquis of Pombal was directing the government for King Joseph, a commercial company was organized for the development of Pará and Maranhão, while another company was formed for the exploitation of Pernambuco and Parahyba. After the fall of Pombal in 1777, those companies were abolished. Yet vessels of foreigners were still prohibited from entering Brazilian ports.

Industrial Paternalism.—The government of Portugal displayed a paternalistic attitude toward certain colonial industries. A decree providing that no manufacturer of sugar in Brazil should be detained for debt indicated the Portuguese attitude toward a colonial industry that did not compete with home manufacturers. Pombal exempted colonial indigo and rice from imposts for a term of years. At the same time Brazilian sugar had to be transported across the Atlantic in a crude form in order that it might be refined in Portugal. A portion of Brazilian tobacco was by law reserved for Portuguese factories. In the end of the sixteenth century the cultivation of the grapevine was prohibited in the captaincy of São Paulo. The exportation of wheat from the colony of Rio Grande do Sul was prohibited in 1785. In the same year a royal decree was issued which declared that all Brazilian factories where articles were manufactured out of gold, silver, silk, flax, and cotton should cease to operate.

Revenues, Taxes, and Money.—Monopolies of important colonial industries furnished sources of revenue for the Portuguese government. Among those were salt, Brazil wood, the whale fisheries, the gold mines, and the diamond mines. Certain Portuguese taxes resembled Spanish taxes: important among them were the duties levied at customhouses. Brazil's interior commerce was frequently carried on by means of barter. In mining districts gold bars were often used as a medium of exchange; and eventually mints in Portugal coined money for use in Portuguese America.

Higher Education in Brazil.—For more than two centuries the Jesuit order was an important factor in Brazilian education. Wherever the Jesuits built a chapel or a mission, there they opened schools. Occasionally they established colleges. Other religious orders frequently followed their example. At the end of the seventeenth century, however, higher education in Brazil was limited to a few colleges and seminaries. In 1699 an artillery academy was created at Bahia; and in 1738 a similar academy was established at Rio de Janeiro. Two years earlier there had been founded in that capital the seminaries of São José and São Pedro. The seminary of São

Pedro had professorships of rhetoric, Christian doctrine, Latin, and music, while the seminary of São José had chairs of Latin, philosophy, theology, and liturgy. About 1776 certain Franciscans attempted to found in Rio de Janeiro a university modeled upon the statutes which Pombal had granted to the University of Coimbra. Although a few seminaries and academies were founded in the latter part of the colonial régime, yet the children of Brazilian aristocrats were ordinarily sent to Portugal to study in Coimbra's classic halls.

The Colonial Press.—Portugal did not follow a liberal policy regarding the colonial press. About the middle of the eighteenth century a printing press was established in Rio de Janeiro which published books and pamphlets. Yet that press was soon suppressed by the Portuguese government.

Literature.—Poets of colonial Brazil were influenced by two great factors: the poetry of Camões; and the scenery of their native land. In a sense early Brazilian poets were sectional. They often sang about the natural beauty or the striking events of Pernambuco, Bahia, or Rio de Janeiro. Bento Teixeira composed a poem entitled *Prosopopéa* in which he chanted about the port of Recife. At Bahia in the seventeenth century certain poets imitated the rhythm of anonymous verses entitled *Dialogos das grandezas do Brazil*. A lyric note was struck by T. Antonio Gonzaga, when in 1792 there appeared from the Lisbon press the first edition of the *Lyras de Dirceu*, which describes the tragedy of an unfortunate Brazilian lover who had been compromised in a mining conspiracy and banished to Africa. Among prose writings the works of eloquence held a high place: those began in sermons of the Jesuits. Certain literary productions of the friars partook of the nature of history. In 1587 Gabriel Soares, a Portuguese sugar planter who had resided in Bahia, wrote a notable geographical tract about the Brazilian coast which, however, was not published for many years. Possibly the most important historical production of the colonial period in Brazil was Rocha Pitta's *Historia da America Portuguesa*. Many chronicles were concerned with the annals of particular captaincies. During the Old Régime there is to be noticed the faint be-

ginnings of the picaresque novel—the most striking example of this was the *Peregrino da America* of Nuno Margues Pereira. Brazilian histrionic art had its beginnings in rude dramas depicting the lives of saints and in comedies or comic tragedies.

The Mingling of Races.—Some admixture of blood took place between the Portuguese and the aborigines. As negroes from Guinea gradually displaced the Indians as laborers upon plantations, African slaves became an important element in Brazil's population. Even in the sixteenth century there was considerable mingling of the white, the negro, and the Indian elements in Brazil. In time freedmen—negroes who had been emancipated—formed a considerable element in Brazilian society. As the policy of Pombal was to encourage the amalgamation of the whites and the Indians, during the eighteenth century Brazil became a huge melting-pot. At least in certain parts of that colony, the tendency was toward the formation of new types of mankind. In Brazil castes were not so noticeable as in Spanish America.

Exile of the Jesuits.—A Portuguese agent sent to demarcate the boundary sketched by the treaty of 1750 was a brother of Pombal. In the course of his labors he visited the Jesuit missions in the Amazon valley and soon accused the Jesuits of keeping the aborigines in ignorance and serfdom. Further, the Jesuits had lowered their standing by engaging in commercial transactions. The Portuguese government consequently deprived the Jesuits in Brazil of their temporal authority. In 1759, after the discovery of a conspiracy against the life of King Joseph, a royal edict was issued that the Jesuits—who were suspected of being involved in the conspiracy—should be expelled from Portuguese soil. The properties of the Jesuits in Brazil were consequently confiscated, their reductions were soon neglected, and their neophytes mostly vanished into the wilderness.

Boundaries between Spanish and Portuguese America.—Partly because of difficulties encountered in the survey of the boundary line sketched in 1750, on February 12, 1761, a convention was signed between Spain and Portugal that completely annulled the Treaty of Madrid. In theory, for the time being, the line of Tordesillas again marked the limits



MAP SHOWING THE SPANISH-PORTUGUESE BOUNDARY AND THE AUDIENCIAS IN SOUTH AMERICA NEAR THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

between Spanish America and Portuguese America. On October 1, 1777, a new treaty was signed at San Ildefonso between Spain and Portugal which sketched the boundary between their American possessions. It also provided for the choice of commissioners who should determine the boundary line exactly and who should prepare a map of the Spanish-Portuguese frontiers in America. At many points that line followed the demarcation of 1750. Yet in the south the Treaty of San Ildefonso recognized the Spanish claim to Colonia and to the seven missions on the left bank of the Uruguay River. On the other hand, that treaty acknowledged Portugal's claim to the island of Santa Catharina, to the adjacent mainland, and to extensive interior districts that had been explored and sparsely settled by Jesuit fathers and by pioneers from São Paulo. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that by this treaty Portugal obtained a clear title to territory in South America that was more than twice as large as that conceded to her by the Treaty of Tordesillas. Yet, because of various difficulties, the boundary drawn by the Treaty of San Ildefonso was never completely surveyed. In a report which he made to his King more than ten years after the signing of that treaty, a Spaniard who had been acting as a commissioner to determine the boundary between the possessions of Spain and Portugal in America complained that the Portuguese were planting new settlements beyond the demarcation line of 1777 and recommended that a definitive treaty should be framed which would end the controversies over the limits.

Revolutionary Tendencies in Brazil.—Signs of discontent with the existing régime were shown in Brazil at various times. Still, few movements took place there that could be designated insurrections. In 1787, when Thomas Jefferson was in France, a Brazilian student informed him that certain of his fellow countrymen desired to emulate the United States by establishing a republic in Brazil. That student later became a leader of a coterie of Brazilians who aspired for independence in the captaincy of Minas Geraes. There in 1789 an ensign in the Brazilian cavalry, who was nicknamed "Tiradentes," headed a group of conspirators who wished to separate from Portugal and to establish Brazilian independ-

ence. They designed a national flag, drafted some laws, and formulated certain reforms. Their plot was betrayed to the viceroy, however, they were imprisoned, and in 1792 Tiradentes was executed. Discontent with the rule of the motherland was evidently much less pronounced in Brazil than in Spanish America.

Summary.—The more or less futile attempts that were made accurately to define the boundaries between Spanish and Portuguese America derive much of their importance from the fact that they indicate the extent to which Portuguese pioneers had penetrated the Amazonian wilderness. While the Spaniards had been occupying Portugal and profoundly influencing her system of colonial administration, and also after the Portuguese King was restored to his throne, pioneers had been exploring the Brazilian hinterland, making settlements along the waterways, and thus gaining for Portugal a claim to the territory which her clever diplomats secured by the Treaty of San Ildefonso. In Brazil the old divisions into captaincies still to an extent persisted and furnished a model for local subdivisions that were eventually organized under a viceroy at Rio de Janeiro. In Spanish America new audiencias were created and the independence of certain captaincies general from adjacent viceroalties was recognized. Many of the administrative areas that were thus rudely delimited eventually came to be viewed by Spanish colonists as constituting definite areas possessing a distinct entity. At a later date designated the *uti possidetis* of 1810, the liminary lines sketched by Spain for her chief colonial administrators in America suggested the metes and bounds of nations that were yet to be.

As far as economic matters were concerned, Spain followed a policy of seclusion and paternalism that lasted almost to the end of eighteenth century. In her vast and sparsely settled dominions, and also in those of Portugal, social and intellectual life centered mainly in the cities. The only Latin-American colonial institutions which remotely resembled Anglo-Saxon self-governing institutions were the town councils. Yet those councils furnished no such opportunity for political training as the town meetings of New England. There were no deliberative assemblies in Latin America like

the legislatures of the Thirteen Colonies. An age of transition, the latter part of the Old Régime in Spanish America was marked by violent expressions of discontent with economic conditions, especially among the lower classes. In both Spanish and Portuguese America revolutionary doctrines emanating from France and the United States were being secretly introduced. Still, those doctrines scarcely spread beyond the circles composed of well-educated and ambitious creoles in important towns and cities. A spark was needed from without to ignite the powder magazine in Spanish America.

CHAPTER VI

THE WINNING OF INDEPENDENCE

Napoleon's Iberian Policy.—The immediate cause for the separation of the Latin-American colonies from their motherlands was Napoleon's policy toward the Iberian Peninsula. Animated by a notion that the best mode of securing a permanent peace was to isolate England from the continent of Europe and to close all European ports to her commerce, early in the nineteenth century the French Emperor adopted a policy of intervention toward Spain and Portugal. For several years Napoleon duped Spain and secured her support in his designs against her neighbor. In 1801 he secured from Charles IV, the king of Spain, and from his all-powerful minister, Godoy, Prince of the Peace, the promise of coöperation in his designs against Portugal. A secret clause in the Treaty of Fontainebleau, which was signed by France and Spain in October, 1807, provided that French soldiers should be permitted to march through Spain to the Portuguese frontiers. The treaty also provided for Portugal's dismemberment.

Portugal.—At that juncture the monarch of Portugal was the demented Queen Maria I. Her son, Prince John—whose wife was a daughter of Charles IV named Carlota Joaquina—was acting as regent. In July, 1807, Napoleon had informed the Portuguese ambassador at Paris that his country must close her ports to English commerce. At the court of Lisbon the French envoy made three specific demands: all Portuguese ports should be closed to English commerce; all Englishmen residing in Portugal should be detained; and all British property there should be seized. Those demands frightened the Prince Regent. He yielded on the first demand; but, fearing the wrath of England, he hesitated to grant the other demands. Napoleon therefore seized Portuguese vessels in French ports. The English government

then informed Portugal that in its struggle against Napoleon it might have to overpower the neutral countries. On October 22, 1807, a secret treaty was signed between the English secretary for foreign affairs, George Canning, and the Portuguese minister in London which provided that, if the Prince Regent should decide to leave Lisbon to escape French soldiers, England should furnish a squadron to escort the fugitive prince to his American dominions.

Flight of the Braganza Dynasty.—Upon receiving news of the approach of French invaders, the members of the dynasty of Braganza prepared to flee from Portugal. On November 29, 1807, a Portuguese fleet bearing Queen Maria and the royal family sailed from the Tagus. Upon the following day French soldiers under Junot entered Lisbon. Escorted by a British squadron under Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, the Portuguese vessels crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and in January, 1808, they reached Bahia. Regent John signalized his arrival in Brazil by promulgating a decree that ended Portugal's antiquated colonial policy. For it provided that Brazilian ports should be open to foreign vessels. The fugitive dynasty arrived in Rio de Janeiro in March, 1808. The seat of the Portuguese government was thus transferred from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro. Proclamations asserting a claim to the Spanish Indies, which Carlota Joaquina sent to cities of Spanish America, tended to foster a spirit of independence in la Plata, Paraguay, and Charcas.

Effects of the Flight upon Brazil.—The government of Brazil was soon reorganized. El Conde das Arcos, the viceroy, was displaced by Regent John who established administrative bureaus modeled after those of Lisbon. He selected secretaries and councils to aid him in managing the government. In other captaincies than Rio de Janeiro he permitted the captains general to continue in the exercise of their extensive powers. In April, 1808, Regent John issued a decree which removed the prohibition upon the free exercise of industries. Six months later the Regent issued another decree that established the bank of Brazil. A printing press was founded and the royal library was made accessible to readers. Honors and titles were scattered among the Portuguese who had fled from Lisbon.



LATIN AMERICA ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION (*from Robertson's "Rise of the Spanish-American Republics"*).

Origins of Brazilian Independence.—The Brazilian movement for independence from the motherland dates from the arrival of the Braganza family in Portuguese America. On December 16, 1815, by an important decree Regent John recognized an accomplished fact. The decree proclaimed that the colony of Brazil was a kingdom, which placed it upon the same constitutional basis as Portugal. Citizens of Brazil were thus accorded the same rights as Portuguese citizens. Further, on March 20, 1816, Queen Maria I died: her son John was soon formally proclaimed king of Portugal and Brazil with the title of John VI. Yet some Brazilians were not satisfied. In 1817 a revolt broke out in the province of Pernambuco where conspirators endeavored in vain to establish a republican government in imitation of the United States.

Influence of the Portuguese Revolution of 1820.—The position of King John VI was unique. He remained the titular monarch of Portugal where a Regency had been ruling under English protection. In 1820 revolutionists overthrew that government, established a new Regency, and convoked a Constituent Côrtes. This revolution naturally affected Portuguese America. Some Brazilians championed the cause of the Portuguese revolutionists, while others advocated the formation of a separate constitution for Brazil. By a decree of February 24, 1821, King John VI prematurely approved the national Constitution which was being framed by the Portuguese Côrtes; and two days later his eldest son Pedro solemnly swore to support it. A propaganda spread in Rio de Janeiro, however, in favor of the Spanish Constitution of 1812. King John accordingly issued another decree on April 21, 1821, proclaiming that Constitution to be in force until the Portuguese Constitution should be definitively formed. But the King soon changed his mind; for, on the next day, he issued a decree revoking the Spanish Constitution of 1812 and again proclaiming the Constitution which was being elaborated in Lisbon. It may accordingly be said of Brazil in 1821 that she had "two constitutions in two months."

Departure of John VI.—On April 22, 1821, King John VI also issued a decree which granted to his son Pedro the authority of regent in Brazil. Accompanied by certain mem-

bers of his family, King John embarked on board a warship on the evening of April 24. Two days later he sailed for Portugal. Just before his departure the King addressed a letter to the Regent expressing his apprehensions about the future of Portuguese America and advising Pedro to place the Brazilian crown upon his own head rather than to allow an adventurer to seize it.

Regent Pedro.—On taking the reins of power, Regent Pedro swore to defend the Portuguese Constitution which had been framed by the *Côrtes*. At that juncture, however, the *Côrtes* passed certain decrees which affected Brazilians unfavorably. It established juntas of government in the provinces. It reduced the supreme court in Rio de Janeiro to a provincial court. It stipulated that local magistrates should correspond directly with Portugal. Many Brazilians consequently thought that the Portuguese *Côrtes* intended to reduce Brazil to the status of a colony. A Brazilian scholar who played a prominent part in the ensuing reaction was José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva, who in 1822 became Pedro's minister of the interior and of foreign affairs. In that capacity, on June 3, 1822, Bonifacio signed a decree convoking at Rio de Janeiro a Constituent Assembly of deputies from the Brazilian provinces.

Grito de Ypiranga.—On August 14, 1822, José Bonifacio addressed a circular to the diplomatic corps at Rio de Janeiro announcing that Brazil considered herself as independent as Portugal, that the former colony had been freed from the yoke with which the mother Kingdom had aimed to enslave her, and that she was almost ready to proclaim her independence. Almost resolved to declare that Brazil was independent of Portugal, on the same day Regent Pedro left the capital city on a trip to the south. After he had perused letters from Rio de Janeiro which expressed the decision of many inhabitants of that city in favor of a complete separation of Brazil from Portugal, and upon becoming aware of further measures of the Portuguese *Côrtes* directed against Brazil's autonomy, Pedro decided upon a momentous step. On September 7, 1822, on the banks of the Ypiranga, a small stream near the city of São Paulo, Pedro proclaimed the independence of Brazil from Portugal. This informal proclamation,

which Brazilian writers have styled the *Grito de Ypiranga*, constituted the Brazilian Declaration of Independence.

Emperor Pedro I.—On September 21 the municipal council of Rio de Janeiro announced its intention to make Pedro the Constitutional Emperor of Brazil. Pedro accepted the proffered dignity on October 12 and promised to put into operation the constitution that should be framed by the Constituent Assembly. On December 1, 1822, the former regent was solemnly crowned as Constitutional Emperor of Brazil. Meantime the separatist spirit was spreading through the interior Brazilian provinces. Aided by Lord Cochrane, a brave English officer who had helped Chile and Peru to establish their independence of Spain and who now organized Brazil's navy, the Brazilians soon subdued the Portuguese who opposed separation from the motherland. The Portuguese squadron that had besieged Bahia was dispersed. By November, 1823, the territory of Brazil was practically freed from the Portuguese.

First Constituent Assembly.—The first Constituent Assembly of Brazil met on April 17, 1823, in Rio de Janeiro. Pedro made an address to it declaring that he would defend the Constitution which it might frame, if that Constitution should prove worthy of Brazil and of himself. The Assembly entrusted the task of framing a Constitution to a committee composed of José Bonifacio and other leaders. Its chairman was Antonio Carlos. Various members of the committee drafted projects of a Constitution. At last the task was entrusted to Carlos, who—after determining certain fundamental principles—selected features from various constitutions, and in about two weeks prepared a Constitution for Brazil. This project, which was considered favorably by the Assembly, stated that the government of Brazil should be an hereditary monarchy vested in the dynasty of the Emperor Pedro I. It declared that the Emperor and a bicameral Assembly were the representatives of the nation. It further declared that the powers of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments were all delegated by the sovereign people. The person of Pedro I was declared to be sacred and inviolable. His title should be "Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil." Large executive powers were delegated to

the Emperor, who was to be aided by a ministry and a privy council appointed by himself. Legislative authority was vested jointly in the Emperor and the Assembly. The legislative department was to be composed of a House of Deputies and a Senate. Deputies were to be elected, while Senators were to be appointed for life. Only the lower house was to have the right to initiate laws concerning taxes, military recruits, or a new dynasty. It alone should have the right to ask the emperor to dismiss his ministers. To the houses acting jointly was given the right to select a new dynasty, to take the oath of an Emperor or of a Regent to observe the laws, and to declare martial law.

Its Dissolution.—Evidently this project, which limited somewhat the Emperor's power, displeased him grievously. On November 12, 1823, an Imperial military officer arbitrarily dissolved the Constituent Assembly. Its prominent members were arrested. The Emperor soon selected a commission to frame a Constitution for Brazil. In one month this commission—which was mainly composed of Pedro's councillors—drafted a new project that was partly based upon the Constitution of Antonio Carlos. It was transmitted to the councils of important cities in December, 1823.

Brazilian Constitution of 1824.—The Constitution of 1824—so designated because it was proclaimed on March 25, 1824—declared that Brazil was an independent nation. The government of the nation was to be monarchical and hereditary, constitutional and representative. Pedro, the head of the ruling dynasty, was styled Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil. Roman Catholicism was to be the religion of the State; but the exercise of other religions was to be permitted in special edifices that should not have the external forms of temples. The Constitution declared that executive, legislative, judicial, and "moderative" powers were delegated by the nation.

The Emperor.—The chief executive authority was granted to the Emperor, who was to be aided by secretaries of state and by a council of state. He was to appoint the chief civil, military, and ecclesiastical officers. He was granted the right to exclude from Brazil papal rescripts or conciliar decrees. He could negotiate treaties with foreign

nations. He could issue ordinances to promote the proper execution of the laws, to confer honors, titles, and distinctions, and to declare war or make peace. Among the so-called moderative powers conferred upon the Emperor was the right of suspensive veto upon bills passed by Congress, and the right to approve or temporarily to suspend the acts of provincial councils. The Emperor might grant pardons, commutations of punishment, and amnesties. Upon extraordinary occasions, he could prorogue or convoke Congress. He should appoint Senators by selecting one-third of the personages chosen by indirect election in the respective provinces.

The General Assembly.—The Congress or General Assembly, as it was designated, was composed of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. Senators were given the exclusive power to take cognizance of crimes committed by members of the royal family, by ministers, and by Senators or Deputies during the session of the legislature. Upon the death of the Emperor, they could convoke the Assembly to elect a regency. Members of the Chamber of Deputies were to be selected by electors chosen by popular vote. Deputies were to have the exclusive right to initiate laws relating to imposts or to recruits. They also had the right to indict ministers, councilors, and other magistrates. Acting jointly the houses were to pass, revoke, or suspend laws, to lay taxes, to authorize loans, to administer national property, to regulate the coinage, to administer oaths to the rulers, to fix the powers of the guardian of a young Emperor, to determine the succession when it was doubtful, and to select a new dynasty if the ruling dynasty became extinct.

Judiciary.—The judicial department was declared to be independent of the other departments. Juries were to decide upon the facts in controversy, while judges should apply the law. A superior court was to exist in every province. In the city of Rio de Janeiro there was to be a supreme court which, among other powers, should decide conflicts between the superior courts of provinces about their respective jurisdictions.

Provinces.—Provisions about local organization were based partly upon the existing system. The existing captaincies were now styled provinces. The chief executive of

a province, who was called president, should be appointed by the Emperor. Each city, town, or village in the Brazilian Empire should have an elective council to manage its municipal affairs.

Napoleon Intervenes in Spain.—About the time that Junot's soldiers swarmed into Portugal, Napoleon intervened in Spanish affairs. Intrigues of the heir apparent Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, against his father, furnished the French Emperor with a clue to the situation. Early in 1808 French troops seized fortresses in northern Spain. At that juncture the Spanish Bourbons may have dreamed of taking refuge in the Indies. If such designs were entertained, they were relinquished after a passionate tumult of the populace at Aranjuez. On March 19, 1808—alleging that his health would no longer permit him to act as sovereign—Charles IV abdicated his throne in favor of the heir apparent, declaring that Ferdinand VII should be recognized as King in all the Spanish dominions.

Prince Ferdinand Assumes the Kingship.—At once Ferdinand VII informed Murat, the lieutenant of Napoleon, that he had received from his father the crown of Spain and the Indies. King Ferdinand also expressed his earnest desire to strengthen the ties which united Spain with France. Murat, who soon entered Madrid with a French army, carefully refrained from recognizing Ferdinand as king. Although the ex-King soon regretted his abdication and declared that this act was null, yet on April 10—at the request of the idolized Ferdinand—the Council of the Indies addressed to important royal officials in America an order announcing that the Spanish crown had been transferred to Ferdinand VII.

Charles and Ferdinand Renounce the Spanish Crown.—Yet the French Emperor thwarted this policy by his machinations at Bayonne. After an uprising took place in Madrid against Murat's soldiers, Napoleon induced the ex-King to renounce by treaty his right to the Spanish throne. The treaty stipulated that the integrity of the Spanish monarchy should be preserved, that the prince whom Napoleon would enthrone at Madrid should be independent, and that the

boundaries of Spain should not be altered. This act of renunciation was embodied in a decree of May 8, 1808, by which Charles announced that he had given to the French Emperor the sovereignty over Spain and the Indies, and by which he ordered magistrates throughout the Spanish dominions to obey Napoleon. On May 10 Ferdinand agreed to a treaty with Napoleon in which he declared that he endorsed his father's abdication, and stated that, as Prince of Asturias, he renounced his right to the Spanish throne. Ten days later the Council of the Indies addressed to the chief officials in Spanish America documents conveying the news that Charles IV and Ferdinand VII had renounced the Spanish crown.

Joseph Bonaparte Proclaimed King.—Meantime Napoleon had formulated plans for the government of the Spanish dominions. Shortly after the deposition of Ferdinand VII, Murat issued an ordinance which invited Spanish notables to assemble at Bayonne. From that city on June 6 Napoleon issued a decree announcing that his brother Joseph was king of Spain and the Indies. A few days later, when the notables met at Bayonne, they recognized Joseph as the king of Spain. On July 7 this Assembly adopted, with slight modifications, a Napoleonic statute as the Constitution for Spain—a Constitution which declared that the Spanish crown should be the patrimony of the male descendants of King Joseph. This charter declared that the Spanish-American colonies were to enjoy the same rights as the Peninsular provinces. In the presence of the Spanish dignitaries, on July 8 King Joseph swore to observe the Constitution and to preserve the integrity and independence of Spain. The new King used the title "King of Spain and the Indies."

The News Sent to the Indies.—Reports of the startling events in Spain were transmitted to the Indies in various ways. Soon after the deposition of Ferdinand, Murat sent the news of the fall of the Spanish dynasty to South America. Napoleon dispatched vessels from French ports which carried letters, proclamations, and instructions to Spanish officials in the colonies. By these measures and by the dispatch of emissaries, accounts of the change of dynasties in Spain were sent to Mexico, Venezuela, la Plata, and even to Chile.

The Spanish Juntas.—Meantime, however, significant changes took place in Spain. Reports of the abdication of Charles IV, of the enforced renunciation of the Spanish crown by the beloved Ferdinand VII, and of the installation of Joseph, *el rey intruso*, provoked a national uprising—the beginning of the war of the peoples. As if by magic, from Oviedo to Granada, juntas, or local councils, sprang up which assumed the functions of government, declaring that they ruled on behalf of Ferdinand VII. Certain juntas soon undertook to transmit to Spanish America the news of their opposition to French usurpations. The junta of Seville dispatched commissioners to announce to Mexicans and South Americans the steps which the Spaniards had taken against Napoleon and to solicit contributions for the support of the Spanish cause.

Effects of These Changes upon Spanish America.—The changes in Spain produced significant effects in the Americas. Reports about the abdication of Charles IV evoked many expressions of loyalty to Ferdinand VII. He was formally proclaimed king in Mexico City, Caracas, Bogotá, Chuquisaca, and Buenos Aires. Here and there contributions were made for the support of the war against Napoleon. News of the formation of local juntas in the Spanish Peninsula occasionally created a desire to imitate that example. In July, 1808, the *cabildo* of Caracas presented a memorial to the captain general proposing that a governmental junta should be established in that capital. Upon the advice of a junta in Mexico City in the following month the viceroy of New Spain issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of his viceroyalty announcing that this junta had pledged itself to obey no orders of the French Emperor. A junta which was convoked by the viceroy of Buenos Aires decided that the papers belonging to an emissary of Napoleon should be cast into the flames. At heart not all of the colonial leaders were loyal to Spain. Occasionally a farsighted thinker argued that the deposition of Ferdinand VII had broken the link which joined Spain and the Indies.

Acts of the Junta at Seville.—A Central Junta that had been established at Seville issued a decree on January 30, 1809, which declared that the American colonies were an in-

tegral part of the Spanish monarchy. It further declared that Spanish Americans were entitled to representation in the government. Each viceroyalty and captaincy general was invited to send deputies to Spain. In certain quarters of Spanish America those proceedings merely added fresh fuel to insurrectionary flames.

Separatist Tendencies in 1809.—At Chuquisaca, on May 25, 1809, President Pizarro was deposed; and the audiencia assumed the supreme military and political authority. In July citizens of La Paz in the same presidency deposed the intendant, organized a junta, and drew up a declaration that they would defend to the utmost the independence of their native land. Led by Pedro Murillo, those insurrectionists—who protested their loyalty to Ferdinand VII—waged a brief but unsuccessful war against Spanish soldiers. On August 10 a group of colonists deposed Ruiz de Castilla, president of the audiencia of Quito, incarcerated him, and created a junta of government which proclaimed its allegiance to Ferdinand. During the following month a junta at Santa Fé de Bogotá selected Camilo Torres to frame a memorial of grievances for presentation to the central junta. A number of conspirators apparently schemed to start a revolution at Caracas in December, 1809. In the same month a conspiracy was unearthed in Valladolid, Mexico, which evidently had as its object to form a junta that should rule the viceroyalty on behalf of Ferdinand VII.

The Spanish Regency.—Soon the patriot government of distracted Spain took an important step. The Central Junta created a Regency in January, 1810, to which it transferred the supreme authority. In the following month the Regency addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Spanish America which invited them to choose delegates to a national Cortes. The Regency announced that Spanish Americans were now elevated to the dignity of freemen; that they would no longer be viewed with indifference, vexed by cupidity, and destroyed by ignorance; and that their destinies did not depend upon ministers, governors, or viceroys, but upon themselves. Such statements naturally stimulated the liberal spirit that was spreading among educated creoles in Spanish America.

Spanish-American Revolts in 1810.—On April 19, 1810, after commissioners had arrived from Spain with orders that the Regency should be recognized, an extraordinary *cabildo* in Caracas deposed Captain General Emparan and created a governmental junta which professed to act for King Ferdinand. The Junta soon deported Emparan and other Spanish officials, established certain administrative bureaus, and undertook some political reforms. It issued a manifesto disavowing the authority of the Spanish Regency and addressed a proclamation to Spanish Americans asserting that Venezuela had taken a place in the ranks of free nations. It also issued an address to *cabildos* at Spanish-American capitals asking them to join the insurrectionary movement. After the viceroy at Buenos Aires had incautiously published a manifesto announcing the victories of French arms in Spain, in May, 1810, the *cabildo* of that city replaced him by a provisional junta which was ostensibly formed to preserve the authority of Ferdinand VII. On July 20, 1810, an extraordinary *cabildo* at Santa Fé de Bogotá established a junta for the viceroyalty of New Granda—a junta which declared that it would not abdicate the sovereign rights of the people to any other person than the unfortunate Ferdinand. It was apparently under the auspices of an agent of Spain that in the following month a junta was formed at Quito. Rumors of those events, as well as the unpopularity of Acting Captain General García Carrasco, promoted dissatisfaction in Santiago de Chile. On September 18, 1810, García Carrasco was displaced by a governmental junta which proclaimed its fidelity to the captive king. At Dolores two days earlier, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, an audacious curate who had formed a conspiracy that aimed to establish a provisional junta in Mexico, started a revolt against Spanish rule. The sequel indicates that—despite protests of fidelity to Ferdinand VII—in many parts of the Indies venturesome leaders had visions of independence from Spain.

Miguel Hidalgo in Mexico.—An outline of the Great Revolution in Spanish America may rightly begin with the movement initiated in Mexico by Miguel Hidalgo. Around his insurrectionary banner—which depicted the Virgin of Guadeloupe, the patron saint of the Mexican Indians—there

gathered a large number of dissatisfied Mexicans who were largely Indians or *mestizos*. His followers were successful against royalist soldiers in various encounters. After a stubborn defense, they sacked the prosperous mining town of Guanajuato; they captured Valladolid, the capital of the province of Michoacán; and on October 30, 1810, they almost destroyed a small force of royalist soldiers in a bloody conflict on the Monte de las Cruces near Mexico City. If Hidalgo had next led his forces against the castle of Chapultepec, he might have captured the capital and ended the revolution in triumph.

His Downfall and Execution.—Hidalgo failed to do so, however, and his revolt soon encountered an increasing opposition. Unfortunately for his cause, he never promulgated a definite scheme for the government of emancipated Mexico. He only made an announcement that he intended to convoke a Congress which should enact wise laws for the Mexican people. His revolt met the stubborn resistance of the Mexican Church and of many persons belonging to the wealthy and influential classes. The Inquisition stigmatized the curate of Dolores as a libertine, a heretic, and a rebel. It declared that every person who supported Hidalgo, who failed to denounce him, or who spread revolutionary doctrines, would be fined and excommunicated. Viceroy Francisco Javier Venegas took energetic steps to suppress the insurrection. He ordered the experienced and skillful military commander, Félix María Calleja, to defeat the rebels. Although the Indian hordes who followed the banner of Guadeloupe greatly outnumbered the royalists, yet they were no match for the regular soldiers of Spain. On November 6, 1810, General Calleja checked Hidalgo at Aculco. At a bridge across the river Calderón, near Guadalajara, on January 17, 1811, Spanish soldiers decisively defeated the revolutionists. Hidalgo's army was dispersed. Shortly afterwards, while traveling through the desert plains near Monclova, Hidalgo and other revolutionary leaders were captured by a disgruntled compatriot who had deserted the patriot cause. After being incarcerated and summarily tried, early on the morning of July 30, Hidalgo was shot by a squad of soldiers.

Morelos.—José María Morelos, a capable priest who had served as a lieutenant of Hidalgo, now assumed leader-

ship in the revolution. In October, 1810, Hidalgo had appointed Morelos commander of the revolutionary forces in the territory south of Mexico City. Morelos dispersed the royalists in a brief campaign and revolutionized a region which reached to the mountain ridge that surrounded the capital. Meantime another leader named Ignacio Rayón had convened a meeting of revolutionists at Zitácuaro. There, on August 19, 1811, they drew up an act which announced the establishment of a supreme national junta composed of three men. Its members took an oath to support the rights of the Church and of Ferdinand VII. They issued a circular asking revolutionary chieftains to take an oath of allegiance to the "Supreme Governmental Junta of America." Although appointed a member of the junta, Morelos held somewhat aloof from it, apparently because he disliked its declarations of fidelity to the Spanish King.

The Spanish Constitution of 1812.—On March 18, 1812, a Cortes which the Regency had convoked at Cadiz promulgated a Constitution for Spain. The Constitution declared that sovereignty was vested in the Spanish nation which included all Spaniards in both hemispheres. Roman Catholicism should be the national religion. The government was to be a hereditary monarchy. Executive authority was vested in a King, while legislative power belonged to the King and the Cortes. A unicameral legislature was to include deputies chosen by Spanish citizens in Spain and the Indies. Each province in the Spanish dominions was to be administered by a political chief selected by the King. An important article of the Constitution provided that all Spaniards should have the right to express their political ideas. The Regency declared that every Spanish subject should consider the Constitution of 1812 as the fundamental law of the monarchy. In May, 1812, the Cortes decreed that an oath of allegiance should be taken to this Constitution throughout Spain's dominions in the Old World and the New. On October 30 of that year the chief magistrates of the viceregal government of Mexico solemnly swore to observe the Constitution of the Spanish monarchy.

The Mexican Congress of Chilpancingo Declares Independence.—Meantime Morelos had invited Mexican revo-

lutionists to meet at Chilpancingo. At his instance the provinces which had been liberated elected representatives to an assembly while he chose deputies to represent districts that were still under Spanish rule. To that Congress on September 14, 1813, Morelos made an address expounding his ideas concerning governmental policy. He suggested that Mexico should be declared free and independent of Spain and of all other nations, that Roman Catholicism should be the state religion, and that a government should be created based upon the sovereignty of the people. Under his inspiration, on November 6, 1813, Congress framed a Declaration of Independence from Spain. This declaration announced that because of the existing circumstances in Spain, the Mexicans had recovered the exercise of their usurped sovereignty: the bonds uniting them to the Spanish throne were forever dissolved. It stated that Congress had power to pass laws, to negotiate treaties with foreign nations, and to make concordats with the Papacy. Only the Roman Catholic religion should be tolerated. All opponents of independence were to be considered as guilty of treason. The Congress of Chilpancingo soon passed laws abolishing slavery, caste distinctions, and the tribute levied upon the Indians.

Constitution of Apatzingan.—Although Ferdinand VII was released from captivity early in 1814, yet his restoration to the throne of Spain did not recall the Spanish-American insurrectionists to their allegiance. At Apatzingan, on October 22, 1814, the Mexican Congress adopted a provisional Constitution. Yet, so far as a large part of Mexico was concerned, that organic law—which established a rudimentary government—remained a paper Constitution.

Capture and Execution of Morelos and Mina.—Royalist troops pressed the followers of Morelos harder and harder. At last the Mexican Congress became a fugitive body. About a year after the Constitution of Apatzingan was promulgated, while guarding the flight of Congress, Morelos was captured by royalists. Jubilant soldiers took him to Mexico City, where they cast him into a dungeon. After the most expeditious trial in the annals of the Inquisition, Morelos was unfrocked, condemned to death, and shot in the back. Subsequently a brave Navarrese named Mina strove to promote the emanci-

pation of Mexico with a band of followers mainly recruited in the United States. He failed, however, to enlist the sincere coöperation of the Mexican guerrillas. After some initial successes, he was captured, and sentenced to the same ignominious fate as Morelos. In Mexico the star of the Revolution seemed to have set.

Francisco de Miranda.—The precursor of the South American Revolution was Francisco de Miranda. An energetic native of Caracas, and a knight-errant of liberty, Miranda had spent a large part of his mature life in attempts to interest certain nations in the cause of Spanish-American independence. He had just persuaded the English government to equip an expedition to revolutionize South America, when the Spanish uprising against Napoleon began. That movement and an alliance which England soon formed with the Spanish patriots against the French Emperor caused Miranda to relinquish the hope of English aid in the revolutionizing of Spanish America. In December, 1810, he returned to his native land.

Venezuela's Declaration of Independence.—On July 5, 1811, largely as a result of Miranda's influence, the revolutionary Congress to which he had been elected a delegate formally announced that Venezuela was independent. In their Declaration of Independence the Venezuelans denounced the policy which the government of the Spanish patriots had adopted toward their country. They said that the policy of Spain had forced them out of a position of political ambiguity. They spoke of the imprescriptible right of a people to destroy every political agreement that did not fulfill the great purpose for which governments were established. The "representatives of the United Provinces of Venezuela"—as they styled themselves—solemnly declared that those provinces were independent states. Venezuela was the first of the revolted Spanish colonies formally to declare through delegates assembled in a Congress that she was independent of the motherland.

Constitution of 1811.—The next step of the Venezuelans was to frame a Constitution for the new state. After considerable discussion concerning the type of government to be established—discussion which often hinged upon the respective

merits of a centralistic or a federalistic constitution—on December 21, 1811, the Venezuelan Congress adopted a federal Constitution. Some of its clauses had been patterned after the United States Constitution, while other clauses showed the influence of the Declaration of the Rights of Man of the French Assembly. Yet the first Constitution of Venezuela was scarcely put into operation. In July, 1812, largely as the result of a terrible earthquake, which ruined cities, dispirited the patriots, and encouraged the royalists, the patriot commander, General Miranda, who had been made dictator of Venezuela, capitulated to the royalist commander General Domingo Monteverde. This commander treated the inhabitants of the former captaincy general as denizens of conquered provinces. Miranda was betrayed to the Spaniards by some of his own disgruntled compatriots.

Simón Bolívar.—A greater captain than Miranda was Simón Bolívar. Scion of a distinguished family of Caracas, educated in Europe, he was living on a plantation in the beautiful valley of Aragua when the sudden death of his young bride induced him to forsake agriculture for politics. In 1810 he became an outspoken champion of independence. After Miranda's betrayal he succeeded in escaping from the toils of Monteverde and fled to the West Indies. He soon decided to join the revolutionists in the viceroyalty of New Granada.

Revolutionary Measures in New Granada.—In the city of Carthagena, on November 11, 1811, a revolutionary junta had adopted a Declaration of Independence from Spain. Those revolutionists declared that the cession of the Spanish crown to Napoleon had severed the bonds that joined the Spanish King to his people. They characterized as imprudent and provocative the measures which the patriot government of Spain had adopted toward New Granada. They declared that, using the imprescriptible rights which they had acquired as a result of Napoleon's usurpations in Spain, they erected the province of Carthagena into a free and independent state. On July 16, 1813, a Congress of delegates from Cundinamarca—the central province of New Granada—which assembled at Santa Fé de Bogotá also adopted a Declaration of Independence. Even before that declaration was framed, a

Congress of delegates from several provinces had formed a confederate Constitution for the United Provinces of New Granada.

Bolívar's Early Campaigns.—Early in 1813 Bolívar entered the military service of the junta at Carthagena. He soon expelled the Spanish soldiers from the lower Magdalena Valley. He then marched against the royalists in Venezuela. At Trujillo on June 15, 1813, Bolívar issued a proclamation of war to the death against the Spaniards. In August he triumphantly entered his native city. About two months later an extraordinary *cabildo* of that city proclaimed him Liberator of Venezuela. Forced to leave Venezuela because of the fierce campaigns of the royalist commander Boves, Bolívar was next sent by the confederate government of New Granada against the province of Cundinamarca which was maintaining an organization distinct from that of the other provinces of New Granada. Bolívar soon forced the Dictator of Santa Fé de Bogotá to capitulate. Early in 1815 the seat of the government of New Granada was fixed at Santa Fé de Bogotá. In May following, after a strong army dispatched by Ferdinand VII had landed in Venezuela, Bolívar embarked at Carthagena for the West Indies. Under the command of General Pablo Morillo—a veteran of the Peninsular War—by the middle of 1816, that army had completed the reconquest of New Granada and Venezuela.

The Junta of la Plata.—Let us now turn to the early revolutionary movement in the South. The “provisional junta of the provinces of la Plata River,” which was established at Buenos Aires in May, 1810, selected Colonel Saavedra as its president. It entrusted the administration of the government to two departments which were placed in charge of secretaries.

The Rôle of Mariano Moreno.—Juan J. Paso was made secretary of finance, while Mariano Moreno—“the soul of the revolution of 1810”—was made secretary of military and political affairs. In the columns of the *Gazette of Buenos Aires* which he edited, Moreno argued in favor of the establishment of independent and democratic governments in South America. He promoted public education by founding a public library at Buenos Aires. Under his influence, the junta of

Buenos Aires rejected the authority of the patriot government in Spain; it also tried to extend its jurisdiction over important provinces of the former viceroyalty of la Plata. To the intendancy of Paraguay and to the *Banda Oriental del Uruguay*—a region lying between the Uruguay River and the Atlantic Ocean—it sent letters and messengers inviting the people to join the insurrectionary movement. It equipped an expedition against Paraguay under Manuel Belgrano which served to disseminate there the news of the kaleidoscopic changes that had taken place upon the banks of la Plata River. Yet its attempts to extend authority over all the provinces of the former viceroyalty proved unsuccessful. A spirit of particularism was too strong; and the distances that separated the various provinces were too great. The vast viceroyalty eventually disintegrated.

Paraguay.—In July, 1811, a provisional junta at Asunción expressed its intention not to recognize the Spanish patriot government. Not only were certain Paraguayan leaders incited by news of the changes that had taken place in Spain, but they were provoked by rumors concerning Portuguese designs against their province. On October 12, 1813, a Congress of delegates at Asunción adopted a fantastic plan of government which provided that the supreme power should be conferred upon two citizens who were to be designated "Consuls of the Republic of Paraguay."

Francia.—About a year afterwards a subservient Congress made the first consul, José de Francia, dictator of the Paraguayan state. Francia was a capable and astute lawyer who had gained the reputation of being an honest man. A Congress which assembled on June 1, 1816, declared that Francia should be "perpetual dictator" of the republic.

La Banda Oriental.—Another portion of the extensive viceroyalty of la Plata which eventually separated from the provisional junta at Buenos Aires was the *Banda Oriental del Uruguay*. From 1810 to 1814 certain leaders in that region coöperated with revolutionists at Buenos Aires.

Artigas.—The hero of the movement for independence on the eastern bank of the Uruguay River was José Artigas, a forceful leader who was influenced by federal ideas. To delegates whom he sent to a Constituent Assembly at Buenos

Aires in 1813 Artigas gave instructions that have become famous in South American history. These delegates were to urge the adoption of a declaration of independence. The Instructions of the Year Thirteen—as they have been designated—proposed that a Confederation should be formed by the provinces of the former viceroyalty of la Plata. Each of the provinces should be allowed to organize its own government, the central government should direct only the general business of the state, while other affairs should be managed by the provinces. Every province should have the right to sanction the constitution for the United Provinces that was approved by the Constituent Assembly. The national constitution should guarantee those provinces a republican form of government. Other provisions regarding relations among the provinces were obviously modeled upon the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States.

Origins of Uruguayan Independence.—The Constituent Assembly at Buenos Aires, however, declined to admit the delegates from the *Banda Oriental*, declaring that their credentials were not acceptable. In the following year Artigas left the soldiers of Buenos Aires who were besieging Montevideo. At that date the people upon the eastern bank of the Uruguay River began a movement for separation from Buenos Aires under the leadership of Artigas, who struggled against the Director of the revolutionary government at Buenos Aires, the King of Spain, and the Regent of Brazil. In 1815 Artigas dominated the city of Montevideo, several provinces of the viceroyalty of la Plata, and also the region of the *misiones*.

The Government at Buenos Aires.—Meantime the government at Buenos Aires had undergone some changes. In December, 1810, certain deputies from the provinces were incorporated in the provisional junta. Mariano Moreno had died while on a mission to England. On April 5 and 6, 1811, after a tumult of the populace, the junta was reorganized. In September of that year the executive power was lodged in a triumvirate composed of Feliciano Chiclana, Manuel de Sarratea, and Juan J. Paso, while the reorganized junta acted as a legislative chamber. As secretary of that triumvirate, Bernardino Rivadavia, a talented leader of Italian descent, exerted a large influence. In October, 1812, that triumvirate

was overthrown, and another triumvirate was formed which was composed of Juan J. Paso, Rodríguez Peña, and Álvarez Jonte. This triumvirate convoked an Assembly which vested the executive authority in a Director and enacted laws that promoted the movement for independence.

José de San Martín.—On March 9, 1812, José de San Martín landed at Buenos Aires. The fourth son of a captain who served Spain in the viceroyalty of la Plata, at an early age San Martín was taken to the Iberian Peninsula where he soon enlisted under the Spanish banner. From 1789 to 1811 José de San Martín fought for his King in Africa, Portugal, and Spain. In 1808 he was presented with a medal for his valiant service and promoted to the rank of colonel. Upon hearing of the revolt in South America, he relinquished his colonelcy in order that he might promote the liberty of his native land.

San Lorenzo.—A few days after his arrival the government at Buenos Aires entrusted Colonel San Martín with the organization of a regiment of mounted grenadiers. He soon established a military training school and stimulated the morale of the citizen soldiery of Buenos Aires in diverse ways. On February 3, 1813, at the head of a regiment of his grenadiers, San Martín defeated and dispersed a band of marauding Spanish soldiers at San Lorenzo on the right bank of the Paraná River.

Belgrano Battles with the Royalists.—Meantime Belgrano was battling with the royalists in the interior. At Tucumán on September 24, 1812, he checked Spanish soldiers under Pío Tristán who were invading the viceroyalty. His soldiers forced the royalists to capitulate at Salta on February 20, 1813. Upon entering the presidency of Charcas, however, his army was routed in a bloody battle at Vilcapugio on October 1; and on November 26, it was again defeated upon the plains of Ayohuma.

San Martín at Tucumán.—Because of those reverses, in December, 1813, Colonel San Martín was given command of an expedition which was sent to reënforce Belgrano. On January 18, 1814, San Martín was appointed commander in chief of the soldiers of Buenos Aires that were stationed near the city of Tucumán. After reaching the defeated army, he

took steps to reform it and to train its officers. While reorganizing and inspiring the army, his study of the military situation convinced San Martín that the project of the government at Buenos Aires to defeat the royalists by driving them out of the viceroyalty of Peru through the presidency of Charcas was unwise. In April, 1814, he accordingly gave up his post as commander of the army of Upper Peru. In August the Director at Buenos Aires appointed him governor-intendant of the province of Cuyo, which lay south of Tucumán.

His Plan.—That appointment was doubtless in accord with the wishes of the patriot commander. For he had formed a daring plan for the prosecution of the war for independence. His project was to organize and equip a small, well-disciplined army at Mendoza, thence to cross the Andes in order to expel the royalists from Chile, and then to lead the soldiers of independence by sea against the Spaniards who were entrenched at Lima. In February, 1816, San Martín sent from Mendoza to Buenos Aires a plan of his campaign for the liberation of Chile.

Independence of the United Provinces Proclaimed.—Meantime the Assembly and the Director at Buenos Aires had been carving the former viceroyalty into provinces. On March 24, 1816, delegates from that region assembled at Tucumán. In that Congress there were no representatives from Paraguay or the *Banda Oriental*, and, as the presidency of Charcas was occupied by royalists, there were only a few delegates from that region. The Congress of Tucumán appointed Juan Martín de Pueyrredón the "Supreme Director" of the state. San Martín wrote to the delegate who represented the province of Cuyo in Congress to urge that it should adopt a declaration of absolute independence from Spain. General Belgrano lent his voice to those delegates who favored the establishment of a monarchical government. On July 9 the members of Congress adopted a Declaration of Independence from Spain, as representatives of the "United Provinces of South America." A few days later Congress made a slight addition to the declaration to the effect that the new nation should be considered as independent not only of Ferdinand VII but also of any other foreign domination. This

Declaration of Independence was the logical culmination of the movement that had been initiated in May, 1810. The political entity which was thus formed was ordinarily styled the United Provinces of la Plata.

Rise and Fall of the Patriots in Chile.—The scene now shifts to Chile. The provisional junta that had displaced the captain general soon convoked a Congress of delegates at Santiago for the purpose of forming a government. When the delegates met in July, 1811, they took an oath of fidelity to Ferdinand VII, and also swore to support the constitution and laws which Congress might establish. From that ambiguous position José M. Carrera, an ambitious military officer who had served in Spain, came forward to lead those Chileans who favored independence of the motherland. In September, 1811, he overthrew the existing government. During the following year he sanctioned a republican Constitution, which, however, recognized the sovereignty of Ferdinand VII. The Constitution vested the supreme authority in a junta of three members which was controlled by Carrera. As the leader of a faction that opposed the domination of Carrera and his brothers there stepped forward Bernardo O'Higgins, the impetuous, natural son of an Irishman who had a notable career in the Spanish colonial service. Followers of Carrera and O'Higgins were defeated in October, 1814, at the battle of Rancagua by a royalist army which was partly composed of soldiers who had been sent to Chile by the viceroy of Peru. After this disastrous defeat O'Higgins and José Carrera led bands of Chilean *émigrés* beyond the snow-capped Andes where they sought a refuge with the followers of Colonel San Martín at Mendoza. There, for the present, we shall leave them.

Peru, 1810-1814.—Peru was perhaps the most important stronghold of Spanish power in South America. Before 1816 no such revolutionary disturbances had taken place in that viceroyalty as in other sections of Spanish America. In 1810 reports of conditions existing in Spain, and rumors of movements in certain parts of Spanish America encouraged secret plots and murmurings against the existing régime. Groups of Peruvians held meetings to discuss reform measures. A prominent leader of those coteries was José de la

Riva Agüero, an aristocratic, clever, well-educated creole who had traveled in Europe. Under his inspiration secret clubs were formed which stimulated the smoldering disaffection. The fomenters of discontent, however, were denounced, and Riva Agüero was banished to an interior province. Another tendency in ante-revolutionary Peru is illustrated by the activity of José Baquíjano y Carrillo who was a member of a secret society which sponsored a seditious journal. In that periodical—which was soon suppressed—Baquíjano declared that the inhabitants of Spanish America were brothers who had the same interests.

Revolt of Pumacahua.—The most formidable indication of discontent with the existing régime, however, was a revolt led by a brigadier of aboriginal descent called Pumacahua. Followed by a large number of creoles and Indians who resented the heavy taxes and were incited by reports of the revolution in the provinces of la Plata, in August, 1814, Pumacahua deposed the Spanish officials and created a loyalist junta in Cuzco. From that city he sent out military expeditions to the north, the south, and the southeast. But on March 11, 1815, his followers were defeated by the soldiers of the Peruvian viceroy at Umachiri.

Spanish America in 1816.—Early in 1816 a well-informed contemporary might have prophesied that the insurrection against Spanish power in the Three Americas had been fought in vain. Restored to the Spanish throne, the idolized Ferdinand VII was resolved to establish his absolute authority in the Indies. Calleja, the indomitable military commander who had become a viceroy, had almost stamped out the insurrection in New Spain. The persevering royalist commander Morillo had reconquered northern South America. Dissatisfied Peruvians had been expatriated, pacified, or subjugated. Leaders of the Chilean revolution had taken refuge at Mendoza. Still there is another side to the shield. Down in a province of la Plata, San Martín was silently recruiting the Army of the Andes. Artigas had established his authority as Protector over some provinces in the interior of the former viceroyalty of la Plata. Under the sway of Dictator Francia, Paraguay had assumed the status of an independent nation. In an asylum in the West Indies the idealistic patriot Bolívar

was dreaming of an American state system and meditating about a system of government for the liberated Spanish Americans. An intrepid but discredited royalist officer named Agustín de Iturbide was brooding over his fancied wrongs in the ancient capital of the Aztecs.

The Spanish Revolution of 1820.—From 1817 to 1820 the revolutionary cause in the viceroyalty of Mexico declined. Many of its leaders sought pardon of Ferdinand VII. In 1820, however, events occurred in Spain which profoundly affected conditions in Spanish America. On January 1, Rafael Riego, the commander of an Asturian regiment, announced his adherence to the Constitution of 1812. As a result of the insurrection which ensued Ferdinand VII was soon compelled to relinquish his absolute power and to declare his intention to support that Constitution.

Its Effects in Mexico.—In April, 1820, reports of the Spanish revolution reached Vera Cruz. Government officials in Mexico City soon took oath to support the Constitution of 1812. Its promulgation encouraged liberal ideas. The freedom of the press was again proclaimed in Mexico. In September deputies were chosen to represent that viceroyalty in the Spanish Cortes. Before they sailed for Spain, however, the Cortes adopted decrees that suppressed certain religious orders. Such measures much disturbed the Mexican Church. Soon conservative Mexicans began to hearken to revolutionary voices!

Guerrero.—In the end of 1820 the Mexican insurgents who still fought for independence were waging a guerrilla warfare against the royalists in the region south of the capital city. Their leader was Vicente Guerrero who, after the execution of Morelos, gradually became the inspiring leader of the revolutionists. The commander of the royalist army operating against Guerrero was General José Gabriel Armijo.

Agustín de Iturbide.—When, after failing to subdue the revolutionists, Armijo relinquished his post, Viceroy Apodaca selected as his successor the ruthless commander Agustín de Iturbide, a creole who in April, 1816, had been removed from his colonelcy because of alleged misconduct. On November 9, 1820, Colonel Iturbide accepted the appointment; and, about a week later, he left Mexico City to take charge of the royalist

forces. After a few encounters with the insurgent guerrillas, however, Iturbide began to negotiate with Guerrero, without informing the viceroy. Those negotiations culminated in an agreement between Guerrero and Iturbide to unite their forces and to pacify Mexico.

The Plan of Iguala.—Their agreement was embodied in a plan for the independence of Mexico which Iturbide first published in the obscure hamlet of Iguala on February 24, 1821. That plan was a crude pronunciamiento which contained a Declaration of Independence from Spain and also a sketch of a provisional government for Mexico. The preamble of the Plan of Iguala suggested that the independence of Mexico was destined to be established in the natural course of events. It declared that the evils which arose in Mexico because of the remoteness of Madrid could only be cured by the absolute independence of the viceroyalty. It declared that only a union of Europeans, Indians, and creoles, would furnish an enduring basis for the happiness of the Mexican people. It boldly proclaimed the independence of Mexico from Spain. Roman Catholicism should be the only religion tolerated in the new state. Regular and secular clergy throughout Mexico were to be protected in all their rights and properties. A monarchy was to be established there that should be regulated by a constitution. The ruler of Mexico should be Ferdinand VII, a member of his family, or a member of some other European dynasty. Until an Emperor was selected, the governmental authority should be exercised by a junta which was to frame regulations for the election of delegates to a Mexican Congress. The new government was to be supported by the army of independence, which should be designated "the army of the three guarantees." That army should sacrifice itself, if necessary, for the preservation of the Roman Catholic religion, the establishment of independence, and the union of Mexicans and Spaniards.

Treaty of Córdoba.—This sagacious plan—which virtually provided that the titular sovereignty over Mexico might be held by a Spanish prince—soon won the support of many Mexicans. The viceroy was deposed by a mutiny of his own troops. When his successor Juan O'Donojú arrived at Vera Cruz with a small escort, he found that the plan of Iturbide

had won general acceptance throughout Mexico. On August 24, 1821, O'Donojú signed a treaty with that leader at Córdoba. The Treaty of Córdoba embodied the main provisions of the Plan of Iguala, but it also provided that if a Spanish prince did not accept the Mexican throne the Cortes of Mexico should elect a monarch.

Emperor Agustín I.—On September 27, 1821, the army of the three guarantees marched into Mexico City. At once Iturbide selected the members of a governmental junta which on September 28 signed an act that proclaimed the independence of the Mexican Empire. The junta soon appointed a Regency that was to act as an executive body until an Emperor was elected. Of the Regency Iturbide was made president. After news reached Mexico that the Spanish Cortes had disavowed the Treaty of Córdoba, on May 18, 1822, a military officer proclaimed Iturbide as Agustín I, Emperor of Mexico. Upon the following day the Mexican Congress passed an act which stated that it had selected Iturbide as the constitutional Emperor of Mexico, according to the Plan of Iguala. On July 21 Iturbide was ostentatiously crowned Emperor.

Central America Absorbed by Mexico.—Meantime the Mexican revolution had affected the neighboring captaincy general. Early in September, 1821, a junta in the province of Chiapas declared its intention to seek independence from Spain and to support the Plan of Iguala. On September 15 a junta that had been convoked by the captain general in Guatemala City declared in favor of independence. Other sections of the captaincy general expressed their desire to become independent of the motherland. In the end of 1821 Iturbide dispatched a military expedition into Central America. The government of the Mexican Empire issued orders in September, 1822, that Agustín I should be proclaimed Emperor in the principal Central American towns and cities. Agustín I thus became the ruler of an Empire that stretched from the forty-second parallel of north latitude to the Isthmus of Panama.

Congress of Angostura.—Let us now return to Simón Bolívar. In December, 1816, he sailed from the West Indies and landed in the island of Margarita. With a small band

of guerrillas, he persistently led the struggle against the royalists in Venezuela. He liberated a region in the lower valley of the Orinoco River and established the provisional capital of Venezuela at Angostura. Early in October, 1818, he decided to assemble there a Congress of delegates. On February 15, 1819, the Liberator delivered an eloquent address to the Congress of Angostura expounding his ideas about government. He criticised the federal system of government and argued that the powers of the Venezuelan executive should be similar to those of the English King. Eventually he was induced to accept the presidency of the Venezuelan republic. Some of his political ideas were embodied in a provisional Constitution which was adopted by the Congress of Angostura on August 15, 1819. That Constitution vested the executive power in a President, while the legislative authority was given to a bicameral Congress.

Battle of Boyacá.—In the meantime Bolívar had led his army into New Granada by a daring march over the ice-capped Andean range. After crossing the desolate plateau of Pisba—thirteen thousand feet above the level of the sea—Bolívar's soldiers intercepted the Spanish forces under General Barreiro at a bridge across the River Boyacá. There on August 7, 1819, the royalists were defeated decisively. Two days later Juan de Sámano, the last viceroy of New Granada, fled precipitately from Bogotá. The battle of Boyacá freed from Spanish rule the viceroyalty of New Granada—with the exception of the presidency of Quito. Under the influence of the victory, on December 17, 1819, the Congress of Angostura, which had been enforced by some delegates from New Granada, enacted a law proclaiming the union of the former viceroyalty of New Granada and the captaincy general of Venezuela into a state that was styled the Republic of Colombia. The republic was divided into three departments: Venezuela, Cundinamarca (New Granada), and Quito. The capital of Cundinamarca was henceforth to be styled Bogotá. Bolívar was made president of the new nation which—to distinguish it from a state that emerged later—has sometimes been designated "Great Colombia."

Carabobo.—Soon afterwards the patriot commander prepared for an expedition against the royalists who were entrenched in Venezuela. Veterans who had fought at Boyacá were reënforced by soldiers of New Granada. In March and April, 1821, Bolívar decided to assemble the revolutionary soldiers at a central point and there to give battle to the enemy. While certain patriot divisions attacked the royalists at Caracas, San Felipe, and Valencia, other soldiers marched toward the chosen rendezvous. At Tinaquillo the Liberator reviewed the united army which was about six thousand five hundred strong. He then led it against the royalists under General La Torre who had succeeded Morillo. On June 24, upon the plains of Carabobo, Bolívar's soldiers routed the royalist army. La Torre fled to Puerto Cabello. Although some royalists still clung tenaciously to fortified posts along the seacoast, yet the battle of Carabobo ensured the independence from Spain of northern South America. As a constitutional result of the victory the Congress of Colombia which had met at Cúcuta soon took measures to strengthen the union between New Granada and Venezuela. On August 30, 1821, it adopted a new Constitution for Colombia. Soon afterwards it elected Bolívar president.

Sucre Liberates Quito.—The Liberator had decided that he would next turn his conquering arms against the royalists in the presidency of Quito. There a revolutionary junta had been established in October, 1820. In January, 1821, Bolívar ordered his ablest lieutenant, General Antonio José de Sucre, to lead an expedition by sea to Guayaquil. On May 24, 1822, General Sucre defeated General Aymerich, the president of Quito, upon the slopes of Mount Pichincha which overlooked the capital city. The resulting capitulation provided that the presidency of Quito should be relinquished by the Spaniards. Sucre's victory aided Bolívar who on his southward march to Quito had fought a fierce battle against royalists at Bomboná. Soon after entering the city of Quito, Bolívar announced that the liberated presidency had been incorporated with Colombia.

The "Army of the Andes."—Meantime the revolutionary fires in la Plata had spread westward and northward. They were destined soon to merge with the flames that had

swept down the Pacific coast from Colombia. At Mendoza, from August, 1814, to February, 1817, San Martín had been organizing and training an army for the invasion of Chile. Early in 1817 his army made an heroic march over the cordillera into Chile by lofty mountain passes. The Uspallata pass by which part of the "Army of the Andes" surmounted the mountains was some twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea.

Battle of Chacabuco.—On the morning of February 12, 1817, San Martín's soldiers issued from mountain paths and attacked the royalist soldiers, who, under the command of Colonel Maroto, had gathered to dispute their advance. After an obstinate defense, Maroto's soldiers were dislodged from a hill near the village of Chacabuco. Captain General Marcó del Pont fled from Santiago, and San Martín soon entered the capital. A *cabildo abierto* in that city selected him to be the governor of Chile but he declined the office in order that he might carry out his designs against Peru. Prominent citizens of Santiago then elected O'Higgins supreme director of the new state.

Chile's Independence Ensured by the Battle of Maipú.—Early in January, 1818, O'Higgins and his secretaries wrote Chile's Declaration of Independence. This document declared that Chile constituted a free and sovereign state which would forever remain separate from the Spanish monarchy. On February 7 the Chilean government issued a proclamation stating that upon February 12 the independence of Chile from Spain would be formally announced. Upon that day in the great plaza of Santiago, San Martín and the leading officials of the government took oath to sustain the absolute independence of the Chilean nation. It was not until April 5, 1818, however, when San Martín routed the royalists upon the plains of Maipú, that the independence of Chile was ensured.

Peru Liberated.—Soon afterwards, with the aid of O'Higgins and Pueyrredón, San Martín took energetic steps to organize an expedition against Lima. He was appointed brigadier general of Chile's armies in April, 1819. Lord Cochrane joined the Chilean patriots and helped to organize the expedition which was destined for the liberation of Peru.

In August, 1820, vessels bearing soldiers of the Army of the Andes and also Chilean soldiers sailed out of Valparaiso harbor. After landing upon the Peruvian coast south of Lima, San Martín started a propaganda to promote Peruvian independence. Upon the evacuation of Lima by Viceroy La Serna, General San Martín entered the Peruvian capital. On July 28, 1821, in the great plaza of Lima, he formally proclaimed the independence of Peru from Spain.

San Martín as Protector of Peru.—On August 3 San Martín issued a proclamation announcing that the supreme military and civil authority of the former viceroyalty of Peru was vested in himself with the title of protector. He expressed the opinion that to convoke a congress while there still were royalists in a country was dangerous. On October 8 the Protector issued a provisional decree concerning the government. This decree provided that the laws of Spain which harmonized with the new régime should remain in force. It defined the Protector's powers and provided for a council of state which was to advise him in governmental affairs. By subsequent decrees San Martín made further arrangements for the reorganization of Peru.

Interview of Bolívar and San Martín at Guayaquil.—Yet the war for liberation of South America had not terminated. For the royalists still controlled the Peruvian highlands and also the presidency of Charcas. San Martín felt that the junction of the Colombian forces with his soldiers would perhaps ensure the subjugation of the Spaniards. In July, 1822, he accordingly sailed from Callao for Guayaquil to discuss the destiny of South America with Bolívar. The result of a mysterious interview at Guayaquil was, in brief, that the high-minded San Martín withdrew from the South American war for independence and allowed Bolívar to assume the undisputed leadership of the patriot cause.

Sucre in Peru.—Bolívar soon sent General Sucre to Peru. There Sucre established intimate relations with certain Peruvians. Soon their talented leader, José de la Riva Agüero, declined in authority and decided to leave his native land. After the arrival of the Liberator at Lima in September, 1823, Bolívar and Sucre prepared for a campaign against

the royalists under General Canterac. In the end of 1823 and early in 1824 Sucre organized and equipped the united army of liberation in northern Peru which was mainly composed of soldiers from la Plata, Chile, Peru, and Colombia, including Venezuela.

Battles of Junín and Ayacucho.—In the middle of June, 1824, those soldiers broke camp and marched in separate detachments toward an appointed rendezvous. On August 6 the patriot army met the royalists under Canterac upon the elevated plains of Junín and drove them into rout. Shortly afterwards Bolívar left Sucre in charge of the army and proceeded to the sea coast. After some complicated maneuvers, Sucre—who had been directed by Bolívar to avoid a battle—was conceded permission to fight the royalists. On December 9, 1824, he overwhelmingly defeated them upon an old Inca battlefield at Ayacucho. This battle sealed the fate of Spain's Empire in the Three Americas: on the one hand, it supplemented the labors of San Martín; while, on the other hand, it virtually completed the work of Bolívar.

Independence of Bolivia.—Sucre proceeded from Ayacucho into the presidency of Charcas where the remaining royalists soon laid down their arms. He issued a proclamation to the people on February 9, 1825, announcing that the presidency would remain under the control of his army until delegates from its provinces might assemble. He further proposed that those delegates should decide the political fate of Upper Peru. With reluctance Bolívar sanctioned that measure. On August 6, 1825, delegates who assembled at Chuquisaca formally declared the independence of the presidency of Charcas, justifying the step because of the misgovernment and oppression of Spain. They expressed their intention to establish a sovereign state that would be independent of all nations in the Old World and the New. Five days later this Congress decreed that the new state should be designated the Republic of Bolívar or, as it came to be known—Bolivia. Its capital, Chuquisaca, was to be rechristened Sucre.

Policy of United States toward Spanish America.—During the early stages of the Spanish-American Revolution the government of the United States showed a keen interest in

the struggle. Its policy was to investigate conditions in the revolted colonies, to preserve its neutrality in the wars between Spain and the insurgents, and to watch any developments that might enable it to take measures which were favorable to the nascent states. After the treaty of 1819 with Spain concerning the Floridas had been ratified by the Spanish King, and after Iturbide, San Martín, and Bolívar had triumphed over the royalists, President Monroe and Secretary Adams felt that the time was ripe for the acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence. On January 30, 1822, the House of Representatives asked President Monroe to lay before it documents and information about the status of the governments of Spanish America. In response Monroe sent a special message on March 8, 1822. His recommendation was that the new nations should be recognized. Despite the protests of Spain, both houses of Congress accepted this view, and on May 4, 1822, Monroe signed an act that appropriated money for diplomatic missions to independent nations on the American continent.

Recognition of Spanish-American Nations by the United States.—The first nation of Spanish America actually to be recognized by the United States was Colombia. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams presented the Colombian chargé d'affaires, Manuel Torres, to President Monroe on June 19, 1822. By that act the United States acknowledged Colombia as an independent nation. On December 12 following Adams presented to the President José Manuel Zozaya, minister plenipotentiary from the Mexican Empire. This act constituted the recognition of Mexico by the United States. Recognition by the United States of other Spanish-American nations which were included within the purview of the law of May 4, 1822, was consummated by the appointment of diplomatic agents to those states. Caesar A. Rodney was appointed United States minister to the United Provinces of la Plata on January 27, 1823. Upon the same day Heman Allen was appointed minister to Chile. Peru, as well as several Spanish-American nations that did not appear distinctly upon the map of South America in 1823, were recognized subsequently.

The United States Recognizes Brazil.—During the same decade that the United States decided to acknowledge the

independence of Spanish-American nations, she also recognized Brazil. On January 21, 1824, the minister of foreign affairs of Pedro I appointed José S. Rebello chargé d'affaires to Washington. Rebello's instructions declared that the United States ought to recognize the Brazilian Empire. Upon Rebello's arrival in Washington, Monroe's cabinet carefully considered whether or not the independence of Brazil should be acknowledged at once. After the Brazilian agent had submitted to Adams a memoir about the separation of Brazil from Portugal, on May 26, 1824, President Monroe received Rebello as Brazilian chargé. That act constituted the recognition of the Empire of Brazil by the United States.

England's Policy toward Spanish America.—The acknowledgment of the independence of Latin-American nations by the United States was not without influence upon the policies of certain nations of Europe. Further, the news of the Doctrine promulgated by President Monroe in his message to Congress of December 2, 1823, stimulated those Englishmen who, largely because of commercial motives, advocated the immediate recognition of the revolted Spanish colonies. Early in 1825 the English minister George Canning announced to the diplomatic corps in London his intention to recognize the Spanish-American states. On February 2, 1825, a commercial treaty was signed at Buenos Aires by diplomats representing England and the United Provinces of la Plata. At Bogotá on April 18 following a similar treaty was signed by diplomats of England and Colombia. A treaty between England and Mexico was signed at London on December 26, 1826.

Toward Brazil.—In the recognition of the Brazilian Empire by European nations, England played an important rôle. In November, 1823, Brazil's minister of foreign affairs appointed two agents to England who were empowered to negotiate for the recognition of her independence. They soon held a series of conferences with the Portuguese minister at the court of London. Between the conflicting views of those negotiators George Canning strove to find a compromise ground. John VI issued a proclamation on May 13, 1825, announcing that he recognized Brazil as an independent Em-

pire, with an administration distinct from that of Portugal. On August 29 of that year through the good offices of the capable English diplomat Sir Charles Stuart a treaty was signed at Rio de Janeiro between Brazil and Portugal. By that treaty Portugal acknowledged Brazil as an independent Empire. In 1827 a treaty of amity and commerce between England and Brazil was ratified by the contracting parties. Even before England thus formally recognized Brazilian independence the independent status of Brazil had been acknowledged by France. A treaty between France and Brazil had been signed at Rio de Janeiro on January 8, 1826.

Spain and Spanish America.—For many years the United States strove to promote the acknowledgment of the independent status of the Spanish-American states by the motherland. Not until after the death of King Ferdinand VII, however, did the Spanish government decide to end the family quarrel. On December 4, 1836, the Spanish Cortes adopted a decree which authorized the government to conclude treaties of peace and amity with the nations of Spanish America upon the basis of the acknowledgment of their independence. In accordance with the decree, on December 28, 1836, a treaty was signed between the Mexican republic and Spain by which Isabella II acknowledged Mexico as a free, sovereign, and independent nation. The ratified treaty was published in Mexico City on March 4, 1838. Mexico was thus the first nation that had been carved from Spain's colonial Empire in the Americas to be recognized by the motherland. Other Spanish-American nations soon indicated their desire to foster commercial relations with the motherland; and, in course of decades, Spain tardily recognized the independence of all of her former colonies upon the American continent.

Summary.—As the result of a train of events precipitated by the designs of Napoleon upon Spain and Portugal, new nations thus appeared in America. The colony of Brazil became an independent nation through a series of steps which began with the flight of the dynasty of Braganza from Lisbon and which ended by the promulgation of a monarchical Constitution in 1824. So quietly was the transformation from a colony to an independent Empire accomplished in Portuguese America that the separation of Brazil from Portugal might

almost be styled bloodless. In sharp contrast with the Brazilian secession from the motherland was the separatist movement in the Spanish Indies. The Spanish-American Revolution—which in reality terminated with the victory of Sucre upon the plains of Ayacucho—was for the most part a bloody, protracted, internecine struggle which devastated large areas, destroyed capital, property, and many lives, and encouraged revolutionary habits. Yet, with the exception of stormy meetings of extraordinary *cabildos* and agitated deliberations of revolutionary juntas or occasional congresses, few opportunities had been furnished Spanish Americans for training in the art of politics.

Although the War for Independence had terminated in triumph upon the American continent, yet the struggle for true democratic government had scarcely begun. While the Brazilians had founded an Empire, in the Spanish Indies only the Mexicans began their national career by establishing an Imperial régime. Most of the other nations that were clearly outlined upon the map of Latin America in the second decade of the nineteenth century had created systems of government that were republics in form. In the early years of that decade Central America was attached to the Mexican Empire. In northern South America there had been founded by Bolívar the republic often designated "Great Colombia" which was composed of the regions formerly styled the viceroyalty of New Granada, the captaincy general of Venezuela, and the presidency of Quito. The independent republic denominated Peru claimed jurisdiction over a large portion of the ancient viceroyalty of that name. In 1822 the people living in the territory which had been controlled by the captain general of Chile constituted an independent nation under Director O'Higgins. A loosely organized political entity called the United Provinces of la Plata was attempting to exercise jurisdiction over the major portion of the former viceroyalty of la Plata. A small part of that viceroyalty upon the east bank of the Uruguay River—the region later styled Uruguay—had not established its independence in 1824. Dictator Francia dominated another fragment of that viceroyalty which was styled "the Republic of Paraguay." Through the influence of Sucre the presidency of Charcas had just become the republic of

Bolivia. Upon the east of the Spanish-American peoples the Empire of Brazil asserted that her limits extended to the bounds of the colony as sketched by the Treaty of San Ildefonso. Upon the other hand, the Spanish-American nations ordinarily maintained that their limits were determined by the *uti possidetis* of 1810.

CHAPTER VII

FROM EMPIRE TO REPUBLIC IN BRAZIL.

Character of Pedro I.—On March 25, 1824, Emperor Pedro I solemnly swore to observe the new constitution of Brazil. This step completed the process by which the Portuguese colony of Brazil was transformed into an independent Empire. The agitated years from 1824 to 1831 have aptly been called the second period of Pedro's rule. Pedro I played a strange rôle in Brazilian history. He championed a movement which culminated in the separation of the colony of Brazil from the motherland; on the other hand, he was eventually induced to return to Portugal; for he was unable to check a propaganda directed against himself. The first Emperor of Brazil was a mixture of good and bad qualities. His morals were not always above reproach. Ambitious, impulsive, and ingenuous, although deficient in education and political experience, yet he had some imagination. Of Pedro I the Austrian chancellor Prince Metternich once said that he had spirit and was not devoid of intelligence, that there was some firmness in his character, and that he desired to do what was right. The brilliant Brazilian littérateur, Euclýdes da Cunha, declared that Pedro was part soldier, part king, and part condottiere.

Constitutional Problems.—Emperor Pedro I was confronted by difficult problems. One task was to put the new Constitution into operation. Even before he swore to observe the fundamental law, the Emperor had suspended that article of the Constitution which guaranteed personal liberty. In certain sections of Brazil opposition to the new Constitution did not die out for several years. When Pedro sent Imperial soldiers to crush a revolt that aimed to establish a union of the northern provinces in the so-called "Confederation of the Equator," his policy was opposed by some Brazilians. His appointment of certain persons to act as the presidents of

recalcitrant provinces did not restore them to tranquillity. Constitutional problems also arose in the Emperor's relations with Congress. The two houses, which first assembled in 1826, found it difficult to agree upon certain questions of legislative procedure. When Congress became aware that in the treaty of recognition the Emperor had promised to pay a large indemnity to Portugal, his policy was bitterly criticised. Prominent congressmen wished that the Emperor's ministers should have seats in the national legislature. A ministry of that type was eventually formed on November 20, 1827, headed by Araujo Lima, a member of the House of Deputies. When John VI died in July, 1825, the crown of Portugal reverted to Pedro, who reluctantly conceded it to his little daughter Maria. Some Brazilians even suspected that Pedro preferred the Portuguese crown to that of Brazil.

The War with Argentina.—A serious problem for Pedro I was the condition of the *Banda Oriental del Uruguay*. After Artigas renounced the government at Buenos Aires, his native land became the dark and bloody ground of South America. Upon the one side, it was claimed by the United Provinces of la Plata: upon the other side, it was claimed by Portugal; for that nation maintained that her jurisdiction extended south to la Plata River. After the downfall of Artigas in 1820, Portuguese soldiers under General Lecor took possession of Montevideo; and an assembly in that city declared that the *Banda Oriental* was incorporated with the kingdom of Portugal and Brazil under the title of the cisplatine province. When Brazil separated from Portugal, some of the soldiers who occupied the debatable land declared in favor of John VI, while others acclaimed Pedro I.

The "Thirty-three Immortals" of Uruguay.—In 1825 some thirty-three natives of that region, led by Juan Antonio Lavalleja, invaded it and at Florida on August 25 they framed a Declaration of Independence. Yet that declaration was succeeded by a pledge of their adherence to the United Provinces of la Plata. The Congress at Buenos Aires accepted the pledge and informed Pedro I of its action. He accordingly declared war against the United Provinces on December 1, 1825. After the Brazilians had been checked in conflicts by sea and land, on February 20, 1827, they were decisively de-

feated by soldiers of Argentina and Uruguay at Ituzaingó. In the following May a preliminary convention of peace was signed between Argentina and Brazil which contained a provision that Uruguay should be free and independent. Not only did the Emperor thus fail to retain control of a valuable province; but the defeats of the Brazilian army had injured his prestige, and the expenses of an inglorious war had drained his treasury.

Growth of the Liberals.—Partly because of his fondness for absolute rule, Emperor Pedro I became unpopular with his subjects. Although the Brazilian Constitution guaranteed the liberty of the press, yet leading journals were censored or suppressed. The Emperor frequently interfered with the work of his ministers. His ministry occasionally assumed legislative authority. Cliques or party groups began to form whose alignments were determined by their attitude towards the Imperial administration. A Conservative party appeared that was mainly composed of absolutists and constitutionalists. Absolutists were persons—largely wealthy Portuguese or office-holders—who supported the unconstitutional measures of the Emperor. Constitutionalists disliked Pedro's arbitrary measures but favored the existing Constitution. Liberals were opposed to the Emperor's method of government. Certain Liberal leaders, influenced by the example of the United States, dreamed of founding a republic in Brazil. Other Liberals desired to establish a system of responsible government, such as had developed in England. As the opposition to Pedro's dictatorial rule increased, Liberal journals came into existence. Among them was the *Aurora Fluminense*, edited by Evaristo da Veiga, which criticised the government and exposed the Emperor's extravagance. Another journal, called the *Republica*, spoke ironically of Pedro as the "very dear Emperor"! In 1829 the Emperor had a serious quarrel with the House of Deputies, which he arbitrarily dissolved.

Quarrels between Portuguese and Brazilians.—When news arrived in Brazil of the revolution of July, 1830, in Paris, the discontented Liberals received a fresh stimulus. Pedro I decided to visit the province of Minas Geraes, which seemed the focus of agitation against him. In some parts of that province he was very coldly received. The festivities that

celebrated his return to Rio de Janeiro ended in quarrels between the Portuguese and the Brazilians. The night of March 13, 1831, when the Conservatives in the capital engaged in conflicts with the Liberals, among whom were officers of the army, is known in Brazilian history as the *noite das garrafadas*, the night of the bottles. Those quarrels increased the hatred of natural-born Brazilians for the Portuguese and diminished the popularity of the Emperor, who was a native of Portugal. Twenty-three deputies and one senator soon took counsel together about the critical condition of public affairs. They selected Evaristo da Veiga to frame an address to the Emperor. In the address those congressmen alleged that the Imperial government had neglected to check the attacks of Portuguese Conservatives upon the Liberals; they declared that the Brazilians were justly indignant, and demanded punishment for the offenders. They boldly spoke of the traitors who surrounded the throne; and in menacing language they declared that, unless the Brazilians received redress, the public peace, the stability of the state, and the very existence of the throne would be endangered. Upon responding for the Emperor the minister of justice, Viscount Alcantara, declared that his government had taken the necessary steps to preserve public tranquillity.

Increasing Unpopularity of Pedro's Rule.—On March 20 Emperor Pedro I dismissed the majority of his ministers and replaced them by native Brazilians who did not suit the Liberals. When on March 25 the Emperor appeared at a solemn *Te Deum* which was attended by many Liberals in the church of São Francisco de Paula, he was greeted with spontaneous *vivas* from many people. Some worshipers, however, limited their good wishes for Pedro I to the period when he might remain Constitutional Emperor. To those persons he apparently replied that he was and always had been a constitutional ruler. There is a tradition that to certain persons who acclaimed Pedro II, the Emperor responded that his heir was still a child. Early in April Pedro I abruptly dismissed his ministers and replaced them by a group of unpopular aristocrats. Meantime seditious meetings were being held and the spirit of discontent was spreading rapidly, especially among the Imperial soldiers. The disaffected populace of the capital

city demanded that the Emperor should dismiss his aristocratic cabinet and reinstate the ministry of Brazilians that had preceded it—a demand to which he would not accede. Pedro I then issued a justificatory proclamation: he declared that he would always support the existing constitution; he asserted that his cabinet was animated by constitutional principles, and implored the Brazilians to preserve tranquillity. To agents of the discontented populace who asked Pedro for the restoration of the previous ministry, he responded epigrammatically that he would do everything for the people but nothing by the people. Upon learning of that response the people of Rio de Janeiro arose in a revolt which was vigorously supported by Imperial soldiers. It appears that some Liberals were not certain whether they wished to establish a republic or to retain the monarchy.

His Abdication.—Deserted by his soldiers and unable to get into touch with Brazilian leaders, in his spacious palace at Bôa Vista, early on the morning of April 7, 1831, Pedro I wrote an act of abdication. That state paper was a brief and curious document; for Pedro I declared that, availing himself of his constitutional right, he voluntarily abdicated in favor of his very beloved and esteemed son, Dom Pedro de Alcântara. So perturbed was the monarch that he omitted to state that he was abdicating the Brazilian crown. The people of Rio de Janeiro joyfully acclaimed the new Emperor, who was only five years of age.

The Transfer of Power.—At the request of his ministers, the ex-Emperor soon dismissed them, with the exception of the Marquis de Inhambupe, who was to transfer the government to the new authorities. Early upon the following morning, accompanied by his wife, his daughter, and a few servants, Pedro embarked on the English vessel "Warspite." On board that warship, under date of April 8, Pedro addressed a letter to Brazilian Deputies and Senators which stated that in the exercise of his constitutional right he had appointed José Bonifácio as the tutor of his children. After the abdication of Pedro I was announced, a special session of the Brazilian Congress assembled which appointed a Provisional Regency composed of the Marquis of Caravelas, Campos Vergueiro, and General Francisco de Lima e Silva. Soon afterwards they

issued a proclamation to the Brazilians which announced that Pedro de Alcantara was Constitutional Emperor of Brazil, which expressed confidence that that prince would learn to love Brazil in his childhood, and which declared that the Regency would remain in power only until a regular session of Congress should assemble. With sanguine words the Provisional Regency ushered in the most agitated epoch in Brazilian history.

The Regency of Three.—When the two houses assembled in regular session, as provided by the Constitution, they appointed a Regency composed of three persons; namely, General Francisco de Lima e Silva, José da Costa Carvalho, and João Braulio Muniz. That Regency ruled from 1831 to 1835. The insubordination of the soldiers and the growth of a sectional spirit in various provinces made that period almost anarchic. The revolution of April 7 had evidently spread the taint of disaffection in the army. In the capital city soldiers often deposed their officers. Revolts broke out against the existing government in several provinces. In the province of Pará soldiers deposed their commanders and assassinated the magistrates, thus beginning an insurrection that lasted about four years. In Pernambuco the people had to arm themselves for defense against the infatuated soldiery. In Maranhão insurrectionists deposed the chief civil and military commanders. In Ceará a certain Pinto Madeira plotted to restore the province to Pedro I. Anarchic disturbances took place even in the interior province of Matto Grosso. The great, littoral provinces of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, with Minas Geraes, acted as the ballast of the Brazilian Empire. Most closely related to the revolutionists were the extreme Liberals, who had promoted the April revolution. A Moderate party supported the Regency, while some reactionary leaders vainly aspired to restore the former Imperial régime. A commanding figure that emerged during this tumultuous epoch was the minister of justice, Father Diogo Antonio Feijó, who created a national guard and quelled uprisings in and about the capital city. Euclides da Cunha likened Feijó to Carlyle's providential heroes.

Proposed Amendments to the Constitution.—The spirit of reform was manifested by attempts to amend the funda-



THE LATIN-AMERICAN NATIONS IN 1831 (from Robertson's
 "Rise of the Spanish-American Republics").

mental law. On May 6, 1831, Miranda Ribeiro introduced a motion into the House of Deputies requesting the appointment of a commission to revise certain articles of the Constitution. A special committee was consequently appointed which was composed of Miranda Ribeiro and two other deputies. It soon reported to Congress in favor of certain constitutional amendments. Among its proposals was an amendment abolishing the life tenure of the Senators. Other projected amendments related to the personnel and the responsibility of the regency. Another amendment proposed that the government of Brazil should be a federal monarchy. A compromise between the two houses was the law dated October 12, 1832, which authorized the electors of Deputies to the next Congress to confer upon their representatives the power to amend specified articles of the Constitution.

The Acto Adicional.—Accordingly the Congress of 1834–1837 seriously considered the modification of the Constitution. On May 6, 1834, it appointed a committee to frame constitutional amendments. By a vote of seventy against sixteen the lower house of Congress resolved to revise the Constitution without the sanction of the Senate. With the approval of the regency the House of Deputies embodied certain proposed amendments in the *Acto Adicional* which was adopted on August 12, 1834. That act abolished the council of state. It provided that, in the absence of an adult heir to the throne, electoral colleges in the provinces should select a Regent who was to serve for four years. It also provided that instead of councils with very restricted functions, the provinces should have autonomous legislative assemblies. The exiled ex-Emperor died in Portugal in the same year as that in which the Brazilian Constitution was thus amended by concessions to the spirit of particularism.

Regent Feijó.—On October 12, 1835, Congress installed Father Feijó as sole regent. This step marked a temporary loss of power by the Liberals. Feijó pursued an independent policy and did not select his ministers from Congress. He was compelled to establish the supremacy of the civil government against revolutionists and also to carry on a struggle with Congress which was determined to assert its authority. In September, 1835, a federalist revolt gained startling head-

way in the province of Rio Grande do Sul. Although the leader of the republican partisans in that quarter was captured, yet Feijó was unable to suppress the insurrectionary movement. A decree restricting the liberty of the press added to his unpopularity. Parliamentary opposition, which was based upon the union with moderate Liberals of those reactionaries who wished a restoration of previous conditions, hastened Feijó's downfall. Prominent in the formation of the new party group were Bernardo de Vasconcellos and Pedro de Araujo Lima—later the Marquis of Olinda. The new party won the elections of 1836; and Regent Feijó gave up his position in September, 1837. In that month Araujo Lima assumed the functions of the regent, who acted in the name of Emperor Pedro II.

The Liberals Announce the Majority of Pedro II.—The accession of Araujo Lima to the Regency signalized the triumph of those politicians who wished a species of responsible government adopted. The new Regent chose a ministry from members of Congress. A law was soon passed that restricted the provincial autonomy which had been conceded by the *Acto Addicional*. Civil wars did not entirely subside during the term of Araujo Lima. Most significant was the movement concerned with the youthful Emperor. In April, 1840, an association was founded to promote the accession of Dom Pedro II. On July 23, 1840, the Liberals succeeded in passing through both houses of Congress a declaration that Pedro de Alcantara had attained his majority. A project of a proclamation was framed to announce that decision; and a committee was appointed to inform the prince of the step which Congress had taken. The spokesman of this committee informed Pedro de Alcantara that Congress—the sole repository of the sentiments of the Brazilian nation—had become convinced that the best remedy for the existing evils was the immediate acclamation of his majority and his consequent elevation to the Brazilian throne. Pedro was requested benignantly to consider that expression of national sentiment: he was invited to take the oath of office as Emperor. This step was evidently in accord with Pedro's own wishes. Upon the afternoon of July 23 the youthful prince appeared in the halls of the Senate where he took an oath to maintain the Catholic religion and

the integrity of the Empire, to execute the Imperial laws and Constitution, and to promote the general welfare of Brazil. The coronation ceremony took place on July 18, 1841, amid great festivities.

Emperor Pedro II.—Pedro de Alcantara became Emperor Pedro II of Brazil in his fifteenth year in spite of a constitutional provision that the heir to the throne should be considered a minor until he had completed his eighteenth year. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that Pedro II assumed Imperial power by virtue of a parliamentary revolution. Shortly afterwards the youthful Emperor married a daughter of the King of the Two Sicilies. For many years deprived of maternal care, trained by his tutors to sit at the Imperial council table, and withal something of a bookworm, still Pedro II had an unusually attractive personality. His dignified demeanor and unostentatious manners won for him a high measure of popularity. A model of domestic virtues—he was accused of resorting to personal influence in politics. He lacked initiative; he was not a champion of political progress; and he neglected to cultivate the army. With some of the characteristics of a benevolent despot, Pedro II became the chief magistrate of what a Brazilian historian has styled a republican Empire.

The Restoration of Internal Tranquillity.—The youthful Emperor began his long rule by selecting a ministry of Liberals. His mode of government may be termed parliamentary. The political complexion of his ministries varied with that of the House of Deputies: from 1840 to 1889 his ministers were alternately Liberals and Conservatives. Certain constitutional and legal reforms strengthened his hands. By a law of November 23, 1841, the council of state was reestablished; and it soon exercised a steadying influence upon public policies. On December 3 of that year a code of procedure was promulgated which standardized legal processes. Still internal dissensions were not quelled for some years. By the end of 1845, however, civil wars which had raged in the provinces of São Paulo, Minas Geraes, and Rio Grande do Sul had been suppressed by Imperial soldiers commanded by the Marquis of Caxias. A revolt in the province of Pernambuco, which was precipitated by persons who wished that commerce should be monopolized by native Brazilians, was suppressed in 1848.

Pedro II and his chief captain thus gave the land a good peace. Upon the other hand, in 1851-1852 Brazil became involved in the war which was being waged against Rosas, the dictator of Argentina. Complications with Uruguay followed which culminated in a war against Paraguay that will be described in a subsequent chapter.

Economic Progress.—The long reign of Pedro II was an epoch of great progress. In 1850 the first regular line of packets was established between Brazil and Europe. Four years later the first railway line in Brazil was opened to traffic. More than five thousand miles of railway had been laid by 1889. By that date some eleven thousand miles of telegraph lines were in use, besides submarine cables. Between 1831 and 1889 the revenues of the Empire increased about fourteenfold. The value of the products of the Empire from 1840 to 1889 increased about tenfold. Immigration from Europe was encouraged: in 1888 about one hundred and thirty thousand immigrants landed in Brazil.

The Navigation of the Amazon.—As Brazil possessed extensive lands bordering upon the Amazon River, her policy toward the navigation of that river was of interest not only to South American nations but also to leading commercial nations of the world. Through diplomatic negotiations with republics owning territories along the river Amazon the Brazilian Empire tried so to influence the policies of those states as to exclude from the navigation of that vast river nations which did not possess land upon its banks. After Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay, and Bolivia had conceded the freedom of navigation of their international rivers, an increasing propaganda in Brazil in favor of similar action induced the Imperial government to alter its policy. On December 7, 1866, the minister of foreign affairs published a decree which announced that after September 7, 1867, the navigation of the Amazon River and its tributaries should be free to the merchant vessels of all nations up to the Brazilian frontiers. By a supplementary decree of July 31, 1867, the Brazilian government announced that the main channel of the Amazon would be open so far as Tabatinga.

Political Problems.—More than one student of Brazilian politics has said that the "personal" influence which Pedro II

exercised by virtue of the so-called moderative power was largely responsible for the progress which was made during the years from 1840 to 1889. The personal influence of the Emperor was certainly not without an effect upon politics. Apparently he aimed to hold the balance between Conservatives and Liberals. During his reign some ministries were dissolved because they did not have the sanction of public opinion. Discerning Brazilians have asserted that Pedro II used such occasions to enhance his own political prestige as the permanent factor in national politics. A certain Senator once styled Pedro's rule as a "veiled despotism." Yet it is clear that the Emperor permitted a large measure of freedom to public opinion and the press.

Founding of the Republican Party.—A most significant development of his long reign was the founding of a new political party. On December 3, 1870, the first number was published of a journal named *A Republica*, which became the organ of the Republicans. A manifesto which that number contained, signed by fifty-seven leaders of the new movement, argued that an organization of Republicans was legitimate and necessary. They proposed that a constituent assembly should be convoked with power to formulate social and political reforms and to inaugurate a new régime. Their programme was favorably received in certain provinces, especially in São Paulo and Minas Geraes, where Republican clubs were formed.

Church and State.—A grave politico-religious problem arose to provoke new party alignments. The tranquil relations that had existed between Church and State in Brazil were seriously disturbed after 1872 because of a dispute precipitated by the Bishop of Olinda who ordered Catholic societies to expel such members as belonged to masonic lodges. In the opinion of the Brazilian government that action was unauthorized: it ordered the bishop to withdraw the interdict which he had laid upon churches where his orders had not been obeyed. As the offending bishop refused to obey the commands of the government, it dispatched an agent to the Holy See who secured a scathing disapproval of the bishop's proceedings from Pope Pius IX. The government then prosecuted two bishops who were consequently sentenced to imprisonment with hard labor—to the scandal and indignation of the Brazilian clergy.

who consequently harbored resentment against the Imperial régime.

The Military Element in Politics.—Other disturbing incidents were caused by the ambition of certain military officers—who were not excluded by law from a political career—to exert an influence in politics. The issue was raised in 1883 when a Brazilian colonel contributed articles to a periodical of Rio de Janeiro criticising a bill which had been introduced into the Senate. The government assumed the position that military officers should obtain the consent of the minister of war before they presumed to make contributions to the newspapers. As the government declined to abide by the decision of a military tribunal that soldiers had the constitutional right to express their views in newspapers, a popular officer named General Manoel Deodoro da Fonseca, who was vice-president of the province of Rio Grande do Sul, espoused the soldiers' cause. In February, 1886, Deodoro da Fonseca sent an open letter to the Emperor accusing the government of injustice to the soldiers. When in consequence the government retracted its views upon the mooted point, its prestige was sadly injured. Conversely, the militaristic influence in politics was strengthened.

The Slavery Issue.—While the balance of effective political power was thus slowly shifting from the Imperial government toward the army, another cloud loomed up ominously upon the horizon. That was the problem of the emancipation of the Brazilian slaves. In time, besides the Conservatives, the Liberals, and the Republicans, the abolitionists and the slavocrats formed factions which, however, scarcely crystallized into definite parties.

Anti-Slavery Agitation.—Slavery had struck its roots deeply into Brazilian soil. Yet, partly because of the anti-slavery policy pursued by England, on November 7, 1831, a law had been adopted which aimed to abolish the African slave trade: it provided that with certain exceptions, all negroes brought into Brazil should be free. On September 4, 1850, a law was sanctioned which contained effective provisions for the abolition of the domestic trade in slaves. To some prominent Brazilians the Civil War in the United States conveyed the lesson that the horrors of a war about slavery should be

avoided. During the war with Paraguay Emperor Pedro II and his advisers were forced to realize that Brazil was sometimes despised by her neighbors because she had about one and one-half million bondsmen. During that war Pedro II decided in favor of the gradual emancipation of the negroes. In April, 1868, a commission of the council of state headed by Joaquim Nabuco was selected to frame a project of a law concerning slavery. With a few modifications, Nabuco's project became the basis of the law of September 28, 1871, which was vigorously championed in Congress by the distinguished statesman and diplomat, Viscount Rio Branco.

The "Rio Branco Law."—The law of September 28, 1871—sometimes called the "Rio Branco law"—provided that the children of slaves born after that date should be free. Such children should remain under the guardianship of their mothers' masters until they had attained the age of eight years, when those masters might either accept an indemnity from the state or avail themselves of the services of the freed minors until they became twenty-one years old. The names of all slaves should be inscribed in registers by their owners, while children freed by law should be recorded in distinct registers. Slaves who had been abandoned by their masters were declared free. This law which provided for the gradual abolition of slavery made possible a steady decrease in the number of slaves but it did not suit radical Liberals or extreme abolitionists. Prominent publicists founded an anti-slavery society on September 28, 1880. In various quarters of Brazil progressive planters liberated their slaves. On September 28, 1885, a law was sanctioned which provided that all slaves who had reached the age of sixty years should be free. It stipulated, however, that such freedmen should serve their masters for three years.

Abolition of Slavery.—That law did not satisfy the radicals. Some of them favored emancipation without compensation. In 1887 when the Emperor decided to make a trip to Europe, leaving his daughter Princess Isabel—who had married Comte d'Eau—to serve as regent, conditions were ripe for a further change. Italian immigrants in the province of São Paulo, believing that slave labor was inimical to their interests, encouraged slaves to flee from plantations. Regent Isabella profited by that incident to advocate immediate eman-

cipation. On May 8, 1888, the minister of agriculture introduced a bill into the Chamber of Deputies which provided that slavery should at once be declared extinct in Brazil and which abrogated all regulations to the contrary. After some debate the bill passed both houses; on May 13 it was sanctioned by Regent Isabella.

Effects of Abolition.—This law, which liberated some six hundred thousand negro slaves without compensation to their owners, may be likened to a two-edged sword. On the one side, it crowned the labors of the extreme abolitionists and caused Brazilian laborers to rejoice. On the other side—humanitarian though it was—it naturally provoked great discontent among the land owners and furnished a pretext for political disaffection. Rich planters—who had been the mainstay of the monarchy—became affiliated with discontented ecclesiastics, Republicans, and military officers. On June 11, 1889, in the House of Deputies a member exclaimed: "Down with the monarchy! Long live the Republic!"

Deposition of the Emperor.—In November, 1889, at the instigation of Professor Benjamin Constant—who had become a champion of Positivist principles—disgruntled civil and military leaders formed a conspiracy to overthrow the monarchy. Early on the morning of November 15 a brigade of Brazilian soldiers commanded by General Manoel Deodoro da Fonseca marched from a barracks in the suburbs into the capital city and took possession of the government buildings almost without opposition. The cabinet resigned. Although the aged Emperor—who had just returned from Europe—still hoped to form a new cabinet, yet his palace was surrounded by soldiers and he was placed under arrest. Revolutionary leaders headed by Deodoro da Fonseca issued a decree which announced that Brazil had been transformed into a federal republic. They declared that the Brazilian provinces joined by a bond of federation now constituted the United States of Brazil; and they stated that, pending the election of a Constituent Congress, the nation would be ruled by a provisional government. Further, they said that the national government would forcibly intervene in those Brazilian states which might be unable to preserve tranquillity. On November 16 the provisional government decided to grant a sum of money to the family of Pedro

II. Upon the following day the Imperial family sailed for Portugal. Upon November 18 the provisional government issued a circular announcing that it would recognize and respect all obligations, contracts, treaties, and debts which had been legally contracted by previous governments. Certain nations of South America and also the United States soon recognized the Brazilian Republic.

The Interregnum.—The proclamation of the Brazilian republic was followed by a brief *interregnum*. By a series of decrees the provisional government initiated various reforms. By a decree of December 3, 1889, it appointed a commission to frame a constitution for the United States of Brazil. On January 7, 1890, it issued a decree that separated Church and State. On June 22 following it issued a decree convoking a Constituent Assembly which should meet on November 15. A project of a constitution for Brazil, which had been framed by Ruy Barbosa and other Republican leaders and had been approved by Fonseca, was laid before the Constituent Assembly. That Assembly referred the project to a committee of twenty-one members who represented the states and the district that included the capital city. After some discussion and a few modifications, Brazil's republican Constitution was promulgated on February 24, 1891. That Constitution embodied some changes which had been decreed by the provisional government. It contained a statement that the nation was composed of the former provinces united in an indissoluble union called the United States of Brazil.

Brazil's Constitution of 1891.—Unlike the Constitution of 1824, this Constitution provided for executive, legislative, and judicial departments of government. The President and Vice-President were to be elected by direct popular vote for four years. A cabinet, composed of men who did not sit in Congress, should be appointed by the President. With the approval of the Senate, the President might appoint other important federal officers. The President was the commander in chief of the army and navy: in case of a foreign invasion, he might declare war at once. He had the right to sanction laws, or to veto them; but Congress might override his veto by a two-thirds vote. He might issue decrees to promote the faithful execution of the laws, and might pardon criminals or com-

mute punishments. The upper house of Congress was to be composed of three Senators from each state and from the federal district who should be elected by direct popular vote. The lower house should be composed of Deputies elected by each state in proportion to its population. Congress, which should hold annual sessions, was given extensive legislative powers. Only registered citizens over twenty-one years of age might vote. The judiciary of the Brazilian Union was to be composed of a federal supreme court and of inferior courts that should be distributed throughout the country. A peculiar feature showing Latin influence was the provision that the attorney general should be a member of the supreme court. Some of the provisions regarding its jurisdiction were clearly patterned after North American precedents.

Local Government.—The federal government was prohibited from interfering in the affairs of the states except in certain specified cases. That government was also prohibited from making discriminations for or against the ports of any state. The states of Brazil were, however, conceded the right to levy export duties. A clause in the Constitution provided that each state must be organized according to the republican form: that the executive, legislative, and judicial departments must be distinct; that the governors and members of state legislatures must be elective; and that federal judges might not be removed except upon a judicial sentence. After the federal Constitution had been adopted the Brazilian states promulgated constitutions which were modeled after that pattern.

President Fonseca.—In accordance with a constitutional provision, Congress in joint session proceeded to ballot for a President and Vice-President of Brazil, who were to hold office for the regular term of four years. General Deodoro da Fonseca was elected President and another military man, Marshal Floriano Peixoto, was elected Vice-President. President Fonseca's rule resembled closely his dictatorship during the *interregnum*. He interfered in the affairs of the state of São Paulo upon the pretext that her president was acting in an irregular fashion. On March 18, 1891, a group of prominent Brazilians accordingly issued a protest against Fonseca's arbitrary, corrupt, and unconstitutional rule. So strong did the opposition to Fonseca become in Congress that it even refused

to vote the appropriations which were necessary to carry on the government.

His Downfall.—On November 3, 1891, Fonseca issued an arbitrary decree by which he dissolved Congress and invited the nation to select representatives to an assembly that should revise the Constitution. To justify his arbitrary measures Fonseca asserted that monarchical conspirators were intriguing against the republic. His dictatorial policy provoked opposition, especially in the states of Pará, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul. The navy stationed at Rio de Janeiro displayed its disaffection. On the morning of November 23, 1891, Admiral Custodio José de Mello, who was disgusted with Fonseca's rule, assumed charge of the navy and thus assured the overthrow of the Dictator. Upon the same day Fonseca resigned the presidency and made way for his constitutional successor Marshal Peixoto who at once convoked an extraordinary session of Congress.

President Peixoto.—Still, the presidency of Peixoto, 1891-1894, was, in the main, a continuation of arbitrary rule. Brazil had merely passed from the hands of one military dictator to those of another. Some Brazilians suspected that Peixoto desired to perpetuate his power; for he vetoed a bill providing that a vice-president who became president should not be eligible for the presidency during the ensuing term. By a decree of April 10, 1892, Peixoto announced that the federal district should be considered under martial law. Against this measure, Ruy Barbosa protested and insisted that accused persons were entitled to the privileges of the writ of habeas corpus. Successful in his contention, in May, 1893, Ruy Barbosa took charge of the *Jornal do Brazil* which became a champion of constitutional government. So active a campaign did he wage against "praetorian centralization" that the President apparently contemplated his arrest, and in September, 1893, the editor fled to Buenos Aires. On September 6 the marines in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro rose against the government. Admiral Mello issued a manifesto to the people declaring that Marshal Peixoto had corrupted the people, emptied the national treasury, and abused the Constitution. As many insurrectionary sympathizers resided in the capital, Mello could only threaten to bombard it. He

accordingly left the harbor of Rio de Janeiro in one vessel and established a capital in the city of Santa Catherina, where he hoped to obtain the support of Gumerindo Saraiva who had placed himself at the head of a revolt in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Saraiva's invasion of the state of Santa Catherina, however, ended in failure, Mello sailed for Buenos Aires, and his revolt also collapsed. Marshal Peixoto had triumphed. As he did not covet another term in the presidency, the successful candidate in the campaign of March, 1894, was Prudente de Moraes, who had presided over the Constituent Assembly.

President Moraes.—Moraes, who was chief magistrate 1894 to 1898, has aptly been styled the first civilian president of Brazil. A lawyer by training and a Republican, he transformed the administration of his country. During his presidency the smoldering embers of civil war were extinguished. Early in 1895 an amnesty was conceded to all enlisted men who had participated in revolts. Praetorian methods were gradually discarded: life and property were again respected. Upon his return from exile Ruy Barbosa was joyfully acclaimed by the people. In 1896 Antonio Maciel, who was called "Conselheiro," a missionary among the half-breeds and Indians of the hinterland of the state of Bahia, became involved in a quarrel with the secular authorities which developed into an insurrection. In October, 1897, when the misguided fanatic's stronghold at Canudos fell into the hands of the republic's soldiers, the revolt, which was attributed in part to the influence of monarchists, collapsed. The republican government had found itself.

Deplorable Condition of the Finances.—During the administration of President Moraes the finances of Brazil were seriously embarrassed. This was partly due to the fact that at times the government had been corrupt and extravagant. In part it was due to attempts to relieve the treasury by issues of paper money. Further, the wars with Argentina and Paraguay had produced large deficits, and revolts that had ensued after the downfall of the Empire had caused extraordinary expenditures. The expenses of the army alone amounted to some five million pounds sterling per annum. Under Moraes deficit followed deficit: two good war vessels had to be sold

to alleviate the financial stringency. In 1897 a large amount of inconvertible paper money was in circulation. The rate of exchange descended to its lowest point. A Brazilian economist has calculated that, as the interest on heavy loans which Brazil had contracted since 1824 was payable in Europe, the low rate of exchange absorbed about one-quarter of the national revenue. The government apprehended that it would be unable to pay the interest due on its foreign debts in June, 1898, while it could scarcely hope under the existing circumstances to negotiate another foreign loan. Nor could it anticipate much aid by an increase of the tariff duties from which most of its revenues were derived. It faced bankruptcy.

The Campaign of 1898.—A prominent candidate in the presidential campaign of 1898 was Manoel Ferrez de Campos Salles, who had declared himself against the adoption of a parliamentary régime, and had instead championed the division of government into executive, legislative, and judicial departments. Campos Salles had also pronounced himself against the intervention of the national government in the affairs of the states. He favored a federal republic instead of a unitary or a centralized republic—sovereign states within a sovereign union. The campaign of 1898 resulted in his election to the presidency.

Campos Salles and the Funding Loan.—The president-elect had also meditated about his country's financial ills. Before his inauguration Campos Salles took a trip to Europe to seek a remedy for them. During that journey he consulted prominent bankers in England and France. The London and River Plate Bank suggested to him that Brazil should negotiate a funding loan. The Rothschild banking firm proposed that certain foreign loans should be consolidated, advising the president-elect that this was the only feasible solution of the fiscal stringency. As the basis for a loan of ten million pounds sterling that firm asked for certain pledges and guaranties. To some of its proposals Campos Salles could not agree. The basis for an agreement was, however, reached before the president-elect left for his native land. A contract framed in July, 1898, provided that the Rothschilds would fund not over ten million pounds of the Brazilian debt at five per cent interest per annum. It made pro-

vision for a sinking fund. It provided that, as a guaranty for the payment of the obligations that were being incurred, Brazil should hypothecate her customs revenues, especially those of the capital city. Until July, 1901, no other debt should be incurred by Brazil, except by consent of the Rothschilds. Paper money equivalent to the amount of the loan should be retired from circulation. Upon returning to Brazil the president-elect submitted this contract to Congress which ratified it with scarcely a dissenting vote.

Controversy with France over Guiana.—During the presidency of Campos Salles a dispute respecting the bounds between Brazil and France in South America became acute. The contending parties gave different interpretations to Article VIII of the Treaty of Utrecht by which France in 1713 had acknowledged the claims of Portugal to the territory between the Amazon River and the river Japoc (Vicente Pinzón). In the latter half of the eighteenth century colonists from French Guiana had penetrated into territory which was claimed by Brazil; while France maintained that the river Japoc was not identical with the Oyapoc River, as claimed by Brazil, but a different river. At last, despairing of a settlement by diplomatic negotiations, Brazil and France agreed to submit the question in dispute to the arbitration of the President of Switzerland. As her representative Brazil selected Baron Rio Branco. The decision of the Swiss President which was announced on December 1, 1900, was in the main in favor of the Brazilian contention. For the arbitrator took the view that the Oyapoc River, emptying in latitude $4^{\circ} 10'$ north of the equator, was the river Japoc or Vicente Pinzón. France obtained little more than one thousand square miles of the territory in dispute.

Boundary Disputes with England and Holland.—In 1902 Rodrigues Alves was elected president. During his administration two other boundary controversies were peacefully adjusted. One of those concerned the bounds between Brazil and British Guiana which had been in dispute for some time. Brazil and England had caused surveys of the disputed territory to be made by boundary commissions, but they were unable to reach a settlement of the dispute by negotiations. Hence they agreed to submit their claims to the

arbitration of the King of Italy. To plead her cause Brazil selected the distinguished publicist Joaquim Nabuco, who was aided in the preparation of his case by Baron Rio Branco. The arbitral award of Victor Emmanuel III, which was announced on June 6, 1904, divided the disputed territory between Brazil and England. That King decided that the boundaries of Brazil and British Guiana converged at Mt. Roraima. Brazil soon took steps to adjust another boundary dispute. By an agreement with Holland in 1906 a boundary line was sketched between Dutch Guiana and Brazil.

The Beautifying of Rio de Janeiro.—The internal administration of President Alves was distinguished by the improvement of the metropolis. In 1902 Rio de Janeiro, located upon one of the finest sites in the world, was still in many respects a colonial city. Its streets were narrow and crooked; its public buildings were antiquated; and its sanitation was wretched. A guiding force in the movement for civic improvement was the prefect of Rio de Janeiro, Pereira Passos. His plan for the beautifying of the city included these measures: the improvement of the water supply; the eradication of the bubonic plague and yellow fever; the construction of a great quay with warehouses, railways, and electric lights; the leveling of some hills and the filling in of several portions of the old city; the destruction of many antiquated houses and buildings; and the construction of some modern, central avenues. That elaborate plan, approved in September, 1903, was executed with remarkable celerity. On March 8, 1904, a new street named the *Avenida Central* was begun: there splendid municipal and national buildings were soon constructed. A long stone quay was built. Several delightful public gardens and parks were plotted. Notable among the streets that were laid out was the *Avenida Beira Mar*, a beautiful boulevard that soon stretched for miles along the ocean front. Not of least importance, under the direction of the eminent physician Oswaldo Cruz, so fierce a fight was waged against the mosquito that eventually the scourge of yellow fever was eradicated.

President Penna and the Caixa de Conversão.—President Alves had been succeeded in 1906 by Affonso Penna. During his presidential campaign Penna had expressed his

wish to ensure to Brazil a stable currency. In arguing for the creation of a bank for the redemption of paper, he was presumably desirous to imitate the example of Argentina. The first duty of the republic, he declared, should be to transform fluctuating fiat money into paper currency that was redeemable in gold and hence stable. This he judged might only be accomplished by the establishment of a government bank that would issue against gold which it received notes that might be redeemed in gold upon presentation at its counters. After his election President Penna continued to champion fiscal reform; and, on December 6, 1906, he signed a law providing for the establishment of a bank for the redemption of paper which was to be styled the *Caixa de Conversão*. The law provided for the issue upon gold deposited in the bank of new paper notes which might be convertible into gold by the bank at the rate of fifteen pence for a milreis. In December, 1906, that bank opened its doors. By the end of December, 1907, it had on hand gold amounting to some six million two hundred thousand pounds sterling, while it had placed in circulation about the same amount of convertible paper.

Political Principles of Ruy Barbosa in 1910.—Upon the death of President Penna in 1909 he was succeeded by Vice-President Nilo Peçanha. The leading candidates in the presidential campaign of 1910 were the Liberal Republican, Ruy Barbosa, and Marshal Hermes da Fonseca, a Conservative Republican. The views formulated by Ruy Barbosa in the campaign of 1910 bear perhaps as close a resemblance to the platform of a political party as can be found in Brazilian history. At least they will illustrate concretely the principles for which that leader was contending. Ruy Barbosa declared stoutly against any interference by the government in judicial tribunals or in their decisions. He maintained that judges should not be appointed for political reasons. He declared that he would oppose plurality of offices and would favor the economical management of the nation's finances. The national executive should not usurp the place of Congress in the management of international affairs. The federal government should not refuse to execute a law because of its alleged unconstitutionality. That government should not pledge its

credit to support the loans of Brazilian states or cities. Its soldiers should not interfere in federal, state, or local elections. Except in grave emergencies, it should not declare martial law. The principles thus proclaimed by the great leader of the Liberal Republican party were negative. They were pledges as to what he would not permit or tolerate should he be elected—they did not constitute a programme for a constructive national policy. By inference they suggest some tendencies in Brazilian national life against which Ruy Barbosa and his followers were struggling,—tendencies which they declared had been encouraged by the Conservative Republicans.

President Hermes da Fonseca.—In spite of the eloquent appeals of Ruy Barbosa to voters, which evoked enthusiastic popular support in certain quarters, when Congress assembled to count the votes, it declared that the military candidate was elected president for the term, 1910-1914. Partisans of Ruy Barbosa styled the rule of Hermes da Fonseca a dictatorship. A revolt that soon broke out in the navy was sternly repressed: the offending sailors were embarked on board a vessel and shot upon the high sea. Bahia—the natal city of Ruy Barbosa and of other prominent Brazilian publicists—was bombarded. Against such measures Ruy Barbosa vehemently protested. In 1912 in the lower house of Congress a coterie of Deputies formed a society which was opposed to the rule of Hermes da Fonseca. The convention of the party which opposed the administration of Hermes da Fonseca met at Rio de Janeiro in July, 1913, and nominated as its vice-presidential candidate, Alfredo Ellis, and as its presidential anti-militaristic candidate, Ruy Barbosa. Because of a grave financial crisis that confronted the nation, however, on December 28, 1913, the candidates of the Liberal Republican party withdrew from the contest expressing the view that the voters ought to elect to the presidency a publicist who should represent not a faction or factions but the nation. The result of the election of March 1, 1914, was that Wenceslau Braz was chosen president of Brazil.

Party Problems.—During the quarter century that had elapsed between the deposition of Pedro II and the election of 1914 many monarchists had passed from the political stage.

Still Brazil had scarcely emerged from the period of personal politics. Frequently the attitude of a voter toward a presidential candidate had been determined by his opinion of the personality of a candidate rather than by the candidate's political views. Occasionally—as in 1897 and 1910—a candidate stated his views trenchantly on mooted problems.

Conditions on the Eve of the World War.—We shall next proceed to a consideration of conditions in Brazil. Here, as in connection with nations of Spanish America, special attention will be directed to social, economic, and intellectual life before the World War disturbed the structure of society.

Army and Navy.—A law of 1907 provided that every citizen capable of bearing arms should be liable for military service between the ages of twenty-one and forty-four. Every citizen was liable for two years of active service and seven years in the first reserve. In 1914 the Brazilian infantry was composed of fifteen regiments of three battalions apiece, a few companies of sharpshooters, and twenty-five squads armed with Maxim guns. The cavalry was made up of fourteen regiments, besides twelve companies of mounted scouts. The artillery was composed of some forty-five batteries, in addition to howitzers, light guns, and mountain artillery. Of regular soldiers there were perhaps not more than eighteen thousand. In addition, however, there were many military associations and shooting clubs, especially in southern Brazil; and important municipalities had their own military guards or military police. Brazil's naval programme was stimulated by association known as the Navy League, which carried on an active propaganda for the upbuilding of the fleet. About 1914 the personnel consisted of some fourteen hundred seamen, two thousand men serving under contracts, five thousand apprentices, and six hundred marines, while the officers included one admiral, four vice-admirals, eight rear-admirals, and one hundred and forty captains or commanders. The best warship was the "Rio de Janeiro," with a complement of about a thousand officers and men; besides Brazil had the battleships "São Paulo" and "Minas Geraes," fourteen destroyers, five torpedo cruisers, and five submarines. She had a number of military or naval academies and an aviation school.

Immigration from Germany.—Immigration to Brazil from other European nations than Portugal had begun during the reign of John VI. As early as 1818 some Swiss immigrants had settled at Novo Friburgo, near Rio de Janeiro. With the current of settlers from Switzerland, however, there soon mingled an increasing stream of immigrants from the German Confederation. A contract was signed at Frankfort-on-the-Main between an agent of John VI and certain Germans in 1823 which made specific provisions about the rights and privileges of prospective settlers in Brazil. The contract provided that every immigrant from the Rhineland should have the rights of a Brazilian citizen, and that immediately upon his arrival in Brazil each head of a family should receive two hundred acres of land. In 1824 the first Rhinelanders set foot upon Brazil's hospitable soil. Cordially welcomed by the Brazilians who keenly felt the need of laborers to till the soil, they were allotted tracts of land around Novo Friburgo, and some of them soon entered the Imperial service as soldiers. The Germans occasionally wrote letters to their distant kinsmen that described in extravagant words the attractions of their new homes. In Germany an active propaganda was soon started to encourage immigration to South America. Promoters of colonization published tracts which described in picturesque language the productivity of the Brazilian soil. Before much time elapsed, however, the industrious Germans realized that they could not transform the hilly lands near Novo Friburgo into profitable farms. The current of German immigration was thus deflected to southern Brazil. During the reign of Pedro II a large number of Germans were segregated in southern Brazil where they preserved to a remarkable extent their own language, customs, and ideals.

Recent Tendencies in Immigration.—Under that Emperor immigrants from the United States, Italy, and Portugal also arrived in Brazil. Some immigrants came in accordance with contracts between entrepreneurs of colonization and the Imperial government. During the last decade of the nineteenth century various Brazilian states passed laws to encourage immigration. In 1907 the federal government issued a decree declaring that the peopling of Brazil would be en-

couraged by the national government in agreement with the governments of the various states, with railway companies and other associations, and with private individuals—provided that certain regulations were observed. The decree contained detailed provisions about the rights and privileges of immigrants and the aid to be furnished them by the national and the state governments. A conservative estimate placed the number of immigrants that landed in Brazil from 1820 to 1912, at three million two hundred thousand. Italians led the list with one million three hundred thousand immigrants, followed by Portuguese with nine hundred thousand, by Spaniards with four hundred thousand, and by Germans with one hundred and sixteen thousand.

The Population.—Exact figures are not available concerning the population of this republic in 1914. The last official census—which was taken in 1900—indicated that Brazil was inhabited by some eighteen million souls. A conservative estimate that was based upon official statements placed the population in 1916 at about twenty-three million. The population was composed of three racial elements: white, black, and red—besides the resulting mixed classes. Although the white element was the least numerous, it was politically predominant. Its members belonged chiefly to the Latin peoples, mainly the Portuguese, and possibly amounted to one-third of the total population. Italians, Spaniards, French, and Germans presumably comprised about a million inhabitants. The negroes were composed mainly of former slaves and their descendants. In large part the Indians inhabited the interior of Brazil; frequently they were fierce warriors; and occasionally they were cannibals. A low estimate placed their number at some five hundred thousand. From the blending of those elements a mixed class had resulted which possibly comprised a larger portion of the population than the white element.

Its Distribution.—The most densely populated state was Minas Geraes. The increase of population had been very marked in the progressive state of São Paulo and in the frontier region of Acre. As Brazil indubitably comprised some three million two hundred thousand square miles of territory, the average population per square mile in 1914 was

less than eight persons. In the main, the habitat of the Brazilian people is a narrow strip of land extending south on the Atlantic coast from Pará to Uruguay and narrow fringes along the Amazon River and its chief affluents. In southwestern Brazil settlements have been made at some distance in the interior of the plateau and along the rivers. It is worth while to paraphrase the remark of Viscount Bryce; namely, that no other country governed by a European race owns so large an extent of potentially productive territory.

Language.—The official language of Brazil is Portuguese. Here and there the language has been somewhat modified because of the environment and because of immigration. In the north it has been influenced somewhat by the language of the Tupian Indians. In the south it has been affected by the language of German and Spanish immigrants. Near the bounds between Brazil and her southern neighbors a Spanish-Portuguese mixed dialect is often used. There are many local differences in the idioms, in the vocabularies, and even in the meaning of words.

Religion.—The Empire was naturally Roman Catholic in its religion. After the provisional government of the republic decreed the separation of Church and State, the Catholic Church remained in possession of its communicants, buildings, lands, incomes, and hierarchical organization. By 1914 the Brazilian Catholic Church was organized into seven archbishoprics; namely, Pará, Olinda, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Marianna, and Rio Grande do Sul. The archbishop of the Brazilian capital was the first cardinal created in South America. The Protestant religion has made some progress in this republic. Throughout southern Brazil the Lutheran church has many adherents; while in important towns and cities Presbyterians from the United States have established missions, churches, and schools.

Transportation.—Transportation between Brazil and foreign countries is mainly by steamships touching at ports along the coast and at ports on the Amazon River. The federal government owns and controls the *Lloyd Brasileiro* line plying between Brazil and the United States. Communication between the Brazilian states in the north and those in the south is largely by ocean or river steamers; for, as yet,

there is no through railroad communication between those sections. Brazil's railroads have mainly been laid where the population was most dense, along the coast and in the immediate hinterland. Most of the railroads are found in the productive agricultural and mining lands of the south. About one-half of the total railway mileage of Brazil is owned by the national government. Several railroads are owned by state governments. Among important lines are the Central Railway which runs from Rio de Janeiro to São Paulo through an important section of Brazil; and the São Paulo Railroad which runs from Santos to Jundiahy via São Paulo through a rich coffee-producing district.

Occupations.—The chief occupations in Brazil are agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and commerce. Since the abolition of slavery the cultivation of sugar cane has greatly declined. On the other hand, the cultivation of coffee has steadily increased, especially on the rich, red lands in the state of São Paulo. During the present century the coffee interests have acquired a well-nigh dominant influence in Brazil's economic life. The gathering of crude rubber and of Paraguayan tea constituted important industries. In 1914, with some thirty million head of cattle, many inhabitants were engaged in pastoral pursuits. At that date Brazil had an extensive dried beef industry, but the meat packing industry had scarcely begun. The extent and value of Brazil's mineral resources have been much disputed. Brazilian authors have printed long lists of their country's minerals; veritable mountains of iron are known to exist; while diamond washings and gold mines are still exploited. Within the last quarter of a century a textile industry has been developing in Brazil. In and about the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo some cotton mills have been established. In the large cities a considerable number of inhabitants, especially those of Portuguese extraction, have always been employed in mercantile pursuits.

Exports.—A more concrete notion of the chief economic interests of Brazil will be furnished by statistics of her foreign commerce. From 1910 to 1915 her nine chief exports were: coffee, rubber, cacao, cotton, leather, Paraguayan tea, tobacco, and hides. In 1914 Brazil exported over eleven and one-quarter million sacks of coffee (of one hundred and thirty-

two pounds apiece) which amounted to some £27,000,000 sterling. In round numbers she exported 33,000 tons of crude rubber, worth £7,000,000; 41,000 tons of cacao, worth £1,000,000; 30,000 tons of cotton, worth £1,864,000; 31,000 tons of leather, worth £2,956,000; 59,000 tons of Paraguayan tea, worth £1,856,000; 27,000 tons of tobacco, worth £1,162,000; and 2487 tons of hides, worth £741,000.

Monetary System.—These amounts are given in English pounds because fluctuations in the value of Brazil's money in international exchange compel Brazilians to reckon their exports in foreign or Brazilian gold. The nominal unit of Brazil's monetary system is the gold milreis, which at par is worth fifty-four cents in United States currency. The term *conto de reis* is used to designate a thousand milreis. Paper notes are used in large quantities; and the illusive hope has been entertained that they might be maintained at a stable ratio of exchange through the *Caixa de Conversão*. In reality, the result has been the creation of two standards of value: the paper milreis which is commonly used in domestic trade; and the gold milreis—the equivalent of Brazil's paper money in foreign gold—which is used in international exchange.

Finances.—When Ruy Barbosa withdrew from the presidential race, his country was upon the verge of bankruptcy. At the end of 1913 there was a deficit in Brazil's treasury of about £1,715,000 sterling. Inconvertible paper money in circulation amounted to some 601,488 *contos de reis*. The internal floating debt of the federal government had risen to an equivalent amount, while its internal funded debt was even larger. The total foreign debt aggregated about £100,000,000. It was as plain as daylight that Brazil could not even pay the interest on her national foreign debt. The government of Wenceslao Braz was thus forced to initiate negotiations for a foreign loan in order to tide the ship of state over the rocks. Not without considerable difficulty was another funding loan negotiated with the Rothschilds in October, 1914, which amounted to £15,000,000, bearing interest at five per cent and falling due, 1914–1977.

Education.—Education in Brazil was composed of three branches; namely, elementary, secondary, and higher. Elementary education—which was in charge of the secretaries

of interior of the various states—was backward, particularly in the interior and in the north. In primary schools education was free but not compulsory. A large number of private schools and of schools established by Protestant missionaries throughout Brazil were also devoted to elementary instruction. Secondary education was provided by the federal government, by state governments, and by various private institutions. The *Collegio* Pedro II at Rio de Janeiro was the national institution of secondary instruction. Other secondary schools—often called *gymnasios* or *lyceus*—modeled somewhat after that *collegio* were supported by the states or maintained by private individuals. Military colleges at Rio de Janeiro, Barbacena, and Porto Alegre were dependent upon the ministry of war. Normal schools were found in important towns and cities. Unlike many other Latin-American nations, Brazil had no national university. Instead under the control of the federal government at the capitals of various states there were located institutions for the study of engineering, medicine, pharmacy, dentistry, and law. Among the most notable of those were the polytechnic institutes at Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo and the colleges of law at Recife, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo. At São Paulo was also located Mackenzie College, an institution founded by Presbyterian missionaries, which offered courses in commerce, engineering, and the humanities. At the capital of the republic were located academies of fine arts and music. Near that capital is located a zoölogical laboratory—probably the best in Latin America—that has been named after its distinguished founder, Oswaldo Cruz.

Prose Literature.—A long list of authors entitles Brazil to a place in the front rank of American literary nations. Among her essayists and novelists may be mentioned the following: J. Manoel de Macedo, author of *A Moreninha*, whose novels showed the influence of the romantic movement; José de Alencar, the brilliant author of many realistic novels about Brazilian life, such as *Guarany*, *Cinco Minutos*, and *Sonhos de ouro*; Tavares Bastos, whose essays stimulated Brazilian publicists to open the Amazon to the world's commerce; Machado de Assis, the distinguished novelist and essayist, who wrote *Braz Cubas* and *Varias Historias*; Raul Pompéa,

a psychological novelist, author of *Athenau*, and other stories; R. de Escragnolle Taunay, who produced novels and historical essays; Euclides de Cunha, who composed *Os Sertões*; and Baron Rio Branco, author of political essays and geographical studies. Prominent among historical writers are Joaquim Nabuco, who wrote *Um estadista do Imperio*; Pereira da Silva, author, among other works, of the *Historia da fundação do Imperio Brasileiro*; Francisco A. Varnhagen, who wrote the *Historia geral do Brasil*; João Lisboa, who composed *Apontamentos para a historia de Maranhão*; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, the diplomat and littérateur, author of *Dom João VI no Brazil*; and Helio Lobo, who wrote some diplomatic studies, among them *De Monroe a Rio-Branco*. Stirring speeches of Ruy Barbosa about the finances and politics of Brazil have been printed. Besides writing literary histories of Brazil, Sylvio Romero and José Verissimo have edited or produced works of poetic merit.

Poetry.—Independent Brazil has produced a variety of poets. Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães showed the religious phase of Brazilian romanticism in his poems *Suspiros poeticos e saudades* and his *Mysterios e cantos funebres*. Manoel de Araujo Porto Alegre in his *Brasílianas* and other poems chanted about the rural scenes of his native land. A great lyric poet, the author of many cantos, Antonio Gonçalves Dias, in whose veins flowed Indian, negro, and Portuguese blood, has been characterized as the best poetic exponent not only of the aborigines but also of the citizens of Brazil. Manoel Antonio Alvares de Azevedo, author of the *Lyra dos vinte annos*, manifested the influence of various intellectual currents of his age. A poet of Bahia called Castro Alves sang passionately about the evils of slave society in *O poema dos escravos*. Olavo Bilac in spontaneous verse chanted historic incidents, as in *Delenda Carthago*, or sang of love, as in *Via-lactea*. A pure negro named Cruz e Sousa was characterized by Sylvio Romero as being in many respects the best Brazilian poet.

Fine Arts.—Music is a favorite art in Brazil. A national school of music was founded in 1847. It was reorganized in 1890 under the auspices of Leopoldo Miguez, the composer of various symphonies. Carlos Gomes won a lasting place

in the hearts of Brazilians by his opera, *Guarany*. Some years after the establishment of the republic a building was completed for the national institute of music. Certain* Brazilian composers are well known in the musical world. Among them is Alberto Nepomuceno, author of *Artemis*. The academy of fine arts—which was founded by John VI—has trained some notable sculptors and painters. From the atelier of Rodolfo Bernadelli—who studied in Rome—have come some notable sculptures, as *Christo e a adúltera*. Under the stimulus of Italian and French painters a Brazilian school of painting has developed. Notable among Brazilian artists was Pedro Americo who painted the *Proclamação de independência*.

The Brazilian Civil Code.—After several different projects of a civil code had been framed by prominent jurists, in January, 1899, the minister of justice authorized Professor Clovis Bevilacqua to frame a code. His draft was revised by Ruy Barbosa, and after being modified somewhat by the Brazilian Congress, was sanctioned by President Wenceslao Braz in January, 1916, with the stipulation that it should go into force on January 1, 1917. The material for the code was mainly drawn from Portuguese ordinances, Brazilian laws, and Brazilian juristic writings. An introduction composed of one hundred and twenty-one articles, was followed by a general division composed of three books dealing with persons, property, and juridical acts; and by a special division made up of four books concerning family law, the law of property, the law of obligations (including contracts), and the law of succession. A provision about what may be termed "homestead rights" suggests that in a few minor clauses the framers of the code were influenced by precedents that had developed in foreign lands. The civil code of the United States of Brazil is a general federal statute superseding the national laws and regulations in regard to such matters as land-holding, contracts and judicial proceedings and also superseding the respective laws of twenty-one states.

Brazil's Policy toward the World War.—The struggle between Germany and Austria, on the one side, and England, France, and Russia, on the other side, which began in August, 1914, had a profound influence upon South America. At an early stage in the World War the publicists of Brazil real-

ized that Germany's submarine policy was a danger to their nation. The situation became critical, when, in January, 1917, the German Imperial Government announced a ruthless submarine campaign. In his reply to the announcement the Brazilian secretary of state, Lauro Müller, protested against the submarine blockade and informed Germany that the responsibility for any acts contrary to international law which might affect Brazilian citizens, merchandise, or ships would devolve upon her. As in duty bound, Brazil issued a proclamation of neutrality in the war between the United States and Germany. After a report reached Rio de Janeiro that a Brazilian vessel had been torpedoed by a German submarine without warning, on April 11, 1917, Brazil announced that diplomatic relations with Germany had been severed. When news reached this city that another Brazilian ship had been torpedoed, President Wenceslao Braz urged Congress to take steps for national defense and recommended that the German merchant vessels which were interned in Brazil's ports should be seized. Congress acted favorably on the message; and, on June 2, 1917, the President issued a decree providing that Brazil should use the interned German ships. This decisive act was soon followed by a law which revoked Brazil's neutrality in the World War. Upon October 25 President Wenceslao Braz notified Congress that another Brazilian vessel had just been torpedoed and that the captain of that vessel had been cast into prison: he declared that Brazil could not avoid the war which Germany had imposed upon her.

Brazil Enters That War.—On October 26, 1917, the President signed a law which announced that a state of war existed between Brazil and Germany. It authorized him to take those measures which he might consider necessary for the defense and security of the nation. The government soon took steps to raise and equip soldiers to aid the Allies on the battle fields of Europe. Warships of Brazil were dispatched to join the navies of England and the United States in the North Sea.

Influence of the War upon Brazil.—The World War affected conditions in Brazil in various ways. Restrictions placed by belligerent nations upon their exports, lack of vessels for the carrying trade, and high prices checked the importa-

tion of manufactured articles into the republic. The decrease in imports reduced the government's revenues. In December, 1914, the President was authorized to suspend the redemption of notes in gold. During the War the level of international exchange for Brazil was lowered. It became difficult for Brazilians to procure rolling stock for their railroads. After the United States, as well as the Allies, restricted the trade in coffee and rubber, Brazil's exports of those staples necessarily decreased greatly. A trend became manifest toward a more diversified system of agriculture and more attention was paid to pastoral pursuits. New foodstuffs, especially rice, meat, corn, beans, and cassava meal, entered in considerable measure into Brazil's exports. A reactionary influence of the War was also indicated by attempts of Brazilians to produce articles that had previously been imported. Many small factories of different sorts were erected throughout the country. Of those the most important were cotton factories, meat-packing establishments, tanneries, and paper mills. The War seriously impeded certain proposed public improvements, for it hindered the flow of foreign capital into the republic. Certain projects which enterprising Brazilians had formed for their country's development were accordingly modified or temporarily discarded.

Epitacio Pessoa Becomes President.—On March 1, 1918, Rodrigues Alves was again elected President. When the date for his inauguration arrived, however, he was too ill to take office. In consequence Vice-President Delfim Moreira temporarily administered the government. In a special election held on April 13, 1919, Dr. Epitacio Pessoa, who was acting as head of the Brazilian delegation at the Peace Conference, was chosen president. While returning to his native land the president-elect by invitation visited certain European countries and also Canada and the United States. After his inauguration on July 28, 1919, President Pessoa filled his cabinet positions with men from civil life. With regard to his presidential policy, while sojourning in Washington, he had publicly declared that his programme would be to draw closer together the countries of South America and North America without antagonizing European nations, and to pro-

mote commercial relations between Brazil and the United States.

Summary.—The only independent nation that long endured under a monarchical form of government in the Americas, under the direction of able leaders in 1889 Brazil made a sudden change to republicanism. The sharpness of that transition helps to explain why monarchical traditions continued to have an influence in the constitutional and political life of Brazil. Its sharpness also helps to explain the emergence at certain epochs of military governments and the influence of militaristic parties in the republic. With the passing years, however, the people, as well as the publicists, of the Brazilian republic became adapted to the new order. In Brazil, the great melting pot of America, a distinct national type is being formed. There Portuguese manners and customs still persist among the people. Facing the Atlantic, with a domain larger than that of the United States exclusive of Alaska, possessed of enormous natural resources, if she can satisfactorily adjust her financial burdens and secure the needful capital and labor for the development of her potential wealth, the Brazilian republic may look forward hopefully to a vigorous and influential national life. A salient feature of her development to the present day has scarcely been touched in the present chapter; that is to say, her extraordinary success in disputes with neighbors about boundaries. As will be shown in the chapters that concern Spanish-American nations of South America, Brazil has not only held possession of the territories so generously assigned her by the Spanish-Portuguese Treaty of 1777, but has also gained a clear title to territories far beyond the limits which it sketched. Forts and missions planted by venturesome pioneers furnished the bases for claims by her far-sighted and scholarly diplomats to territories in the rich basins of great rivers.



MAP ILLUSTRATING TERRITORIAL GAINS MADE BY BRAZIL FROM HER SPANISH AMERICAN NEIGHBORS (after maps by M. Mercado, M. and E. S. Zeballos).

CHAPTER VIII

THE GROWTH OF THE ARGENTINE NATION

Origin of Argentina.—Argentina sprang from the heart of the viceroyalty of la Plata. The action of the junta of Buenos Aires that was crowned by the measures of the Congress of Tucumán in 1816 had brought into existence the political entity known as the United Provinces of la Plata. In 1819 a Congress at Buenos Aires framed a "unitary" or centralistic Constitution which was opposed by certain provinces. During the tumultuous years which followed that step the advocates of a centralized system were opposed by those who favored a federal system; namely, a national government which was based upon the autonomy of the provinces. The years from 1816 to 1829 have indeed been called the "Period of Anarchy."

Governor Rodríguez.—A publicist who rose above sectionalism was Martín Rodríguez, who in September, 1820, became governor of the province of Buenos Aires. Rodríguez chose as one of his secretaries Bernardino Rivadavia, a farsighted leader of Italian descent who promoted administrative and political reforms. Amnesty was granted to expatriated citizens. The *cabildo* of Buenos Aires, which had occasionally served as a center of dissension, was abolished. Three million pesos were borrowed in Europe for internal improvements. A bank of discount was established that was later designated the national bank. Tithes and the ecclesiastical *fuero* were abolished. In 1821 an institution designated the University of Buenos Aires was founded which was given charge of primary, secondary, and higher education. Two years later a charitable association named the *Sociedad de Beneficencia* was definitely organized. The notion of federalism was kept alive by means of reciprocal agreements regarding amity, commerce, and navigation between the governors of certain provinces. Steps were taken in various provinces to authorize the convocation of a constitutional convention.

Governor Las Heras.—This project was realized during the administration of Juan de las Heras, governor of the province of Buenos Aires. The delegates of certain provinces assembled at Buenos Aires on December 16, 1824. On January 23, 1825, this Constituent Assembly promulgated a fundamental law, which provided that the provinces should be administered by their own institutions until a national constitution was adopted. In the meantime the national executive power was to be vested in the governor of Buenos Aires. Las Heras was thus made the chief magistrate of all the provinces. As the war with Brazil broke out soon afterwards, Las Heras relinquished his office and recommended that Congress should create a national executive.

Rivadavia and "the Constitution of 1826."—By a law of February 6, 1826, Congress established the executive power of the United Provinces. Almost with unanimity it soon elected Bernardino Rivadavia to fill that position. Congress then proceeded to frame a new constitution. Despite the arguments of certain delegates who championed a federal régime, Congress adopted a centralistic Constitution on July 19, 1826. The "Constitution of 1826" provided that executive authority should be vested in a President. Legislative authority was granted to a Senate and a House of Representatives. A supreme court was given jurisdiction over all disputes to which a province might be a party. By a law of Congress the city of Buenos Aires was made the capital of "the Argentine Republic." Several provinces having declared their opposition to a centralized system, the Constitution of 1826 was badly received in certain sections. The governor of the province of Córdoba, General Busto, rejected it and started a rebellion. That example was followed by Juan Facundo Quiroga, "the tiger of the pampas." In July, 1827, Rivadavia renounced the presidency.

Manuel Dorrego Becomes Governor.—Vicente López, who became president ad interim, dissolved Congress, and convoked the legislature of the province of Buenos Aires. On August 12, 1828, this legislature selected Colonel Manuel Dorrego as governor. Colonel Dorrego had fought in the wars for independence. While an exile in the United States, Dorrego had become an ardent admirer of the federal system,

which, upon returning to his native land, he championed in the Constituent Assembly of 1826. While he was governor of the province of Buenos Aires a treaty with Brazil was signed on August 27, 1828, that guaranteed the independence of Uruguay and terminated the war with the Brazilian Empire. Upon their return to the city of Buenos Aires, however, some soldiers who had been engaged in that war revolted against Governor Dorrego under the leadership of a dissatisfied general named Juan Lavalle. On December 1, 1828, Dorrego consequently left that city to secure the aid of Juan Manuel de Rosas.

Execution of Dorrego.—The fickle populace of the capital city soon acclaimed Lavalle as governor. That general pursued Governor Dorrego and defeated him at Navarro. When Dorrego was betrayed by one of his own officers, Lavalle arbitrarily ordered him to be executed within two hours. On December 13 Governor Dorrego was shot without a trial, and without legal cause: impartial history has judged that this summary execution was, in reality, an assassination! Dorrego's execution provoked many protests from the interior provinces: Quiroga denounced it as an outrage. A convention which met at Santa Fé stigmatized it as high treason and summoned the interior provinces to furnish soldiers to make war on the province of Buenos Aires under the leadership of Estanislao López, governor of the province of Santa Fé. In April, 1829, soldiers commanded by López and Rosas defeated Lavalle. Arrangements were soon made for the cessation of hostilities, for the appointment of a provisional governor of the province of Buenos Aires, and for the withdrawal of Lavalle who took refuge in Uruguay.

Rise of Juan de Rosas.—Out of the somber shadow of Dorrego's death there emerged Juan Manuel de Rosas. He possessed "a coat of arms, blue eyes, and the spirit of a ruler." Rosas was descended from a well-known family of Buenos Aires. He spent part of his boyhood on his father's ranch, attended school in Buenos Aires, and, when a mere lad, took part in the expulsion of the invading redcoats. Soon afterwards he left the paternal roof and engaged in the curing of fish. He then bought land, became a model rancher, an expert horseman, and a prime favorite of the hybrid in-

habitants of the pampas who were called *gauchos*. A leader of the country gentry, he exerted his influence in favor of peace and order whether checking vagabondage and robbery or leading militiamen against Indians. Shortly after the deposition of Lavalle, the provisional governor of the province of Buenos Aires convoked a legislature which on December 8, 1829, appointed Rosas governor and captain general for three years. If we may trust the memoirs of an Argentine contemporary, when Rosas thus came into power he secretly cherished a scheme to use the customs and the external forms of a federation to mask his centralistic and selfish ambitions. The years from 1829 to 1852 have been designated as the "Age of Rosas."

He Becomes Governor.—Shortly after the accession of Governor Rosas, an army under General La Paz defeated federalist soldiers led by Quiroga. Several provinces then proclaimed La Paz as supreme military chief. Yet he was soon imprisoned, Quiroga routed his soldiers, and the centralistic cause seemed lost. Meantime the legislature of Buenos Aires had conferred extraordinary powers upon Rosas. When peace was restored, Rosas insisted upon relinquishing his authority. General Juan R. Balcarce, who was appointed by the legislature to succeed him, assumed power on December 17, 1832. Rosas then added to his prestige by leading an expedition against the Indians upon the frontiers of the province of Buenos Aires.

Rosas Becomes Supreme Ruler.—On March 7, 1835, the legislature of that province again appointed Rosas governor. It granted to him the sum total of public authority. Rosas accepted the office, but upon the express condition that the voters of the province should approve the appointment by a *plébiscite*. By a referendum which was taken in the end of March, with only a few dissenting votes, the people of the province sanctioned the grant of all public authority to Rosas. To aid him in the administration, he selected secretaries of foreign relations, of the treasury, and of war and the navy. Some early measures of Dictator Rosas were as follows: the abrogation of laws that confiscated the property of political offenders; the negotiation of a treaty with England which abolished the slave trade; the founding of a provincial bank

upon the ruins of the national bank; the emission of large quantities of paper money; and the reestablishment of the Jesuit order. Twelve provinces delegated to the Dictator the attributes of national executive: thus there was created the political organization that was styled the Argentine Confederation.

Adulation of the Dictator.—So happy were the people of the metropolis at the restoration of peace and tranquillity, that they idolized Rosas. A commission appointed by the legislature to recognize his services decided to present a sword of gold to the "Illustrious Restorer of the Laws." During a festival held in the capital city prominent citizens dragged through the streets a triumphal cart which bore the portrait of Rosas—a cart to which the populace made humble obeisance. Chiefs of friendly Indian tribes adjured their followers to be faithful to Juan Manuel. Pictures of the Dictator were even placed in the altars of churches: priests from their pulpits exhorted the people to obey him. A secret organization called the *Mazorca* or Ear of Corn, because of the cohesion of its members who were followers of Rosas, harried his enemies and committed all sorts of excesses against law. An Argentine author estimated that during the Age of Rosas over twenty thousand persons were poisoned, beheaded, shot, or killed in other ways.

Reactions against Rosas.—The reign of terror thus fostered by Dictator Rosas was not accepted blindly by every one. His dictatorship had scarcely begun when certain young scholars, including Juan Bautista Alberdi, Esteban Echeverría, Juan María Gutiérrez, and Vicente Fidel López, founded a club ostensibly for the discussion of literary questions. After the Dictator had closed the doors of the club, its members created an organization designated the *Asociación de Mayo* which has been not inappropriately compared to the Carbonaro. In 1839 Berón de Astrada, governor of the province of Corrientes, who was leading an uprising, was defeated by a partisan of Rosas, captured, and executed. Shortly afterwards, upon being informed of a conspiracy led by Colonel Maza, the Dictator imprisoned that officer who was soon condemned to death upon the charge that he had plotted to assassinate Rosas. On November 7, 1839, insurrectionists who

had arisen against dictatorial rule in southern Argentina, were defeated at Chascomús. With the aid of exiled Argentine citizens, General Lavalle organized an expedition in Montevideo, invaded Argentina, and formed a coalition with the governor of Tucumán; but his army was defeated by General Oribe who was allied with Rosas; and Lavalle was shot by a follower of that Dictator. The reaction against the Dictator was next led by Generals Paz and Rivera, who after some successes were forced to retire to Uruguay. In conjunction with the governor of Corrientes General Paz organized a revolt in that province, which was subdued by Urquiza in 1847.

Dispute about the Falkland Islands.—During the Age of Rosas a peculiar controversy arose about the Falkland Islands. As those islands were by Spanish officials included within the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires, they were naturally claimed by the magistrates of the United Provinces of la Plata. In 1831 two sealing vessels from the United States were seized by the governor of the islands for violation of the fishing laws—a step which provoked a diplomatic correspondence between Argentina and the United States. Meantime Captain Duncan of the United States corvette “Lexington” dispersed the Argentine settlers in the Falkland Islands. Against that action Argentina protested. The chargé of the United States at Buenos Aires then maintained that the Argentine government had no right to prevent citizens of his country from fishing near the Falkland Archipelago. In January, 1833, the captain of an English warship took possession of the islands in the name of his King and hauled down the Argentine flag. Against that step the Argentine government protested in 1841 through its minister in London; but the English secretary of state for foreign affairs, Lord Palmerston, asserted England’s prior claim to the archipelago against Spain, basing that claim upon discovery and previous occupation which were not invalidated by the withdrawal of the English forces in 1774.

Argentina’s Plea.—In 1839 José M. Alvear, the Argentine minister in Washington, presented to the secretary of state of the United States a claim for damages caused by the acts of Captain Duncan. In reply Secretary Webster

stated that as Argentina's claim to the islands was disputed by England because of rights acquired at a period long before 1833, he held that the United States should not give a definitive answer to Alvear's communication until the dispute between England and Argentina was adjusted.

Other Foreign Complications.—The expanding ambition of Dictator Rosas gradually involved him in difficulties with other nations. He took the side of Oribe in the latter's struggle with Rivera for the domination of Uruguay. Incited by the mysterious death of a French lithographer, who had been suspected of a design to transfer valuable plans of the Argentine Confederation to Bolivia, France protested against the policy of Rosas who compelled her citizens residing in Argentina to serve in his army. In March, 1838, having failed to obtain satisfaction from the Dictator's secretary of foreign relations, the French consul announced that the coast of Argentina was blockaded; and, in conjunction with Rivera and Argentine exiles, a French admiral took possession of the island of Martín García. Early in 1843, with the help of Rosas, General Oribe invested Montevideo, which provoked a protest to the Argentine Dictator from the governments of France and England. As Dictator Carlos López of Paraguay had made an alliance with the governor of the Argentine province of Corrientes against Rosas, in retaliation the latter laid an embargo upon all commerce with that province or with Paraguay. In April, 1845, the English and French fleets blockaded the Río de la Plata; Anglo-French forces were stationed at Montevideo and other points in Uruguay; and they tried to open the Paraná River to navigation by foreign vessels. After various negotiations for an adjustment had failed, in 1850 conventions were signed between Rosas, on the one hand, and France and England, on the other hand, by which the European powers agreed to withdraw their warships from the blockade of la Plata River, and Rosas promised to recall his legions from the siege of Montevideo. Yet the acrimonious disputes with European nations seriously injured the prestige of Rosas and precipitated his downfall.

The Programme of General Urquiza.—Among lieutenants of the Dictator who at length became weary of a régime that was complicated by strife with foreign powers was General

Justo José de Urquiza. Governor of the province of Entre Ríos, he had long chafed at the barbed bit that had been fastened in his mouth. On April 22, 1851, General Urquiza addressed a letter to Colonel Costa—who was serving under Oribe—denouncing Rosas as a tyrant and inviting the colonel to make war upon him. Urquiza said that his programme was to restore order and liberty to the Argentine Republic and to allow Uruguay to govern herself. In a letter transmitting this communication to Oribe, Costa characterized Urquiza as a savage, a traitor, and a madman.

Concerted Movement Against the Tyrant.—On May 1, 1851, General Urquiza issued a pronunciamiento. He announced that the province of Entre Ríos reassumed the powers which it had delegated to the Tyrant. He said that that province desired to see delegates of the Argentine provinces gather in a constituent assembly definitely to establish a republic. On May 25, in a gazette entitled *La Regeneración*, Urquiza published a proclamation addressed to Argentine civilians and soldiers. He declared that for them the hour of republican organization had struck in the great clock of destiny. In Montevideo, four days later, representatives of the province of Entre Ríos, of Uruguay, and of Brazil signed an offensive and defensive treaty which was aimed against Rosas. In a daring campaign Urquiza led his army from Entre Ríos across the Uruguay River and forced Oribe to capitulate, thus relieving Montevideo. After recrossing that river and fording the Paraná, the victorious general led soldiers from Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay against the Dictator's army.

Battle of Caseros.—At Caseros, on February 3, 1852, Urquiza routed the dispirited army of Rosas. That enigmatical man at once wrote his resignation, asserting that to the extent of his ability he had supported Argentina's independence, integrity, and honor. The fallen Dictator escaped from Buenos Aires in disguise and lived in poverty at Southampton until his death. Despite evil tendencies, his long and arbitrary rule had improved the efficiency and honesty of public administration and had restricted or destroyed the power of *caudillos* or local tyrants whose faces were set against nationalism. The Age of Rosas was a period of transi-

tion between anarchy and constitutional reorganization. An Argentine writer has likened Rosas to Louis XI of France.

The Interregnum.—Soon after the victory at Caseros, General Urquiza took steps to reorganize Argentina. He appointed a provisional governor for the province of Buenos Aires. After the governors of four provinces had agreed that the management of foreign affairs should be entrusted to Urquiza, he issued a decree of amnesty to all exiled Argentine citizens. On May 31, 1852, the governors of eleven provinces, including the province of Buenos Aires, framed an agreement at San Nicolás which was composed of nineteen articles. Some of its provisions were as follows: that a convention composed of two delegates from each province should be convoked; that in case disturbances were to break out Urquiza should be authorized to use all prudent means to restore tranquillity; and that he should be entrusted with the command of the military forces as well as with the regulation of the postal service and of riparian navigation. Urquiza was given the title of "Provisional Director of the Argentine Confederation." The province of Buenos Aires disavowed this agreement; but the thirteen remaining provinces accepted it and proceeded to elect delegates to a Constituent Assembly which met in the city of Santa Fé on November 20, 1852.

The Constituent Assembly at Santa Fé.—To that Assembly an envoy of Urquiza read the Provisional Director's address. This declared that the Argentine flag had space for more than fourteen stars but that it was impossible to eliminate any one of those. Interior provinces of Argentine sent as their delegates intellectual leaders who were acquainted with the constitutions of 1819 and 1826. Into their hands had come by a strange chance a copy of "The Federalist." There was also circulated among the delegates a copy of a notable treatise by Alberdi entitled "Bases and Suggestions for the Political Organization of the Argentine Republic" which was accompanied by a draft of a constitution. Either by the perusal of those works or by a direct study of the Constitution of the United States, the fathers at Santa Fé became acquainted with North American constitutional principles. A committee of the Assembly submitted a plan of a

constitution on April 18, 1853. On May 1, 1853, the Constituent Assembly sanctioned a Constitution for Argentina.

The Argentine Constitution of 1853.—Argentina's Constitution of 1853 prohibited slavery. It declared that the form of government should be federal, representative, and republican. In reality this Constitution was an attempt to harmonize two tendencies which had struggled for domination—the federalistic and the centralistic. Of necessity it could not closely resemble its prototype in North America in some particulars; for the Argentine provinces had never possessed the rights which the Thirteen States enjoyed before 1787. It did, however, on the one side, recognize that some autonomy was possessed by the provinces; while, on the other side, it gave large and significant powers to the national government.

National Executive.—This Constitution declared that aliens should have the same rights as citizens. It vested executive power in a President and a Vice-President to be chosen by electoral colleges in the provinces for a term of six years. The President should be the commander in chief of the army and navy; and he was given charge of civil and ecclesiastical patronage. With the advice of the supreme court, he might refuse to allow the promulgation of papal bulls. He might summon or prorogue Congress, and could veto its legislative acts. He could grant pardons and commutations of punishment, except in cases of impeachment. The President was to be aided by five secretaries who might participate in congressional debates, but who should not have the right to vote. All orders of the President were to be countersigned by one or another of his secretaries.

Legislature.—Legislative authority was vested in a bicameral legislature composed of a House of Deputies and a Senate. The lower house was to be made up of members elected by the people of the provinces and of the capital city in proportion to their population. Besides the right to impeach federal officers, it was given the sole right to initiate laws respecting taxes and recruits. The upper house was to be composed of two senators from each province selected by their respective legislatures and two senators from the capital city who should be chosen by an electoral college. The Senate

should have exclusive power to try officers impeached by the lower house; and, in case of war, it might empower the President to declare martial law. The two houses were granted very extensive powers which somewhat resembled those granted to Congress by the United States Constitution. They were given power to levy direct taxes which did not necessarily have to be proportioned to the population. A significant power was the right to grant subsidies to the provinces when their own revenues might prove insufficient to meet provincial expenses.

Judiciary.—Judicial power was vested in a supreme court and such inferior courts as Congress might establish. The supreme court was to have original and exclusive jurisdiction in cases respecting ambassadors, foreign ministers, and consuls, and those to which a province should be a party. In cases to which the Argentine nation was a party, that court should have appellate jurisdiction.

The Government of the Provinces.—The Constitution of Argentina contained comparatively few provisions about local administration. It declared that the provinces should retain all powers which were not delegated to the national government; and that they should have the right to frame their own constitutions. No province was to declare war or to wage war upon another province. Although the Constitution expressly declared that the provinces should elect their own officers without federal intervention, yet it prohibited them from enacting laws about a number of subjects—as the establishment of banks of issue—without the authorization of the national government. Provincial governors should be the agents of the nation in the enforcement of her laws. The national government was given the right to intervene in the provinces to suppress domestic violence, to repel foreign invasion, or to preserve the safety of the nation.

President Urquiza.—In November, 1853, the first elections were held under this Constitution. Urquiza was chosen president of the "Argentine Confederation." He decided to fix the seat of government in the city of Paraná, the capital of Entre Ríos. Inaugurated on March 5, 1854, he at once appointed secretaries of the interior, foreign relations, justice and public instruction, war, and the treasury. The relations

of Argentina with foreign powers were soon placed on a better footing. Treaties were signed with the United States, France, and England stipulating that the Paraná and Uruguay rivers might be freely navigated by the merchant vessels of all nations. Treaties of navigation and friendship were negotiated with other European powers and with certain nations of South America. The University of Córdoba was made a national institution; and the federal government made appropriations to the provinces for the promotion of primary instruction. Urquiza took several steps to encourage the settlement of the national domain and to promote the construction of railways.

Opposition of Buenos Aires.—Thirteen provinces soon framed constitutions which were accepted by the national government. Grave complications, however, arose between the national government and the province of Buenos Aires. In 1854 that province framed a constitution for itself. In its legislature objections were made to the agreement of San Nicolás; and Urquiza was accused of exercising the powers of a dictator. Dissensions and disputes which were almost irreconcilable soon developed between the provincial statesmen at Buenos Aires and the national magistrates at Paraná. A clash of arms between national and provincial forces resulted in a victory for Urquiza. The government of the province of Buenos Aires accordingly signed a peace with the Confederation. Amendments to the national Constitution that were proposed by a provincial convention at Buenos Aires were incorporated in the fundamental law by a National Convention at Santa Fé in September, 1860. Thus it is that the present Argentine Constitution is sometimes called the "Constitution of 1860." Among those amendments was an article providing that the enactive clause of all laws should use the term "The Argentine Nation." In 1860 Santiago Derqui became president of the Confederation; while General Bartolomé Mitre, a talented native of the Argentine metropolis, became governor of the province of Buenos Aires. The attempt at reconciliation failed, however, when deputies from Buenos Aires to the Congress at Paraná were refused seats because they had not been elected according to the provisions of the national Constitution.

Battle of Pavón.—On September 17, 1861, the national army under Urquiza and soldiers led by Mitre struggled for the mastery upon the plains of Pavón. Both generals claimed a victory; but Urquiza—who was not supported by Derqui—retired from the field of battle. The prestige of victory lay with the soldiers of the dissentient province.

Mitre as Dictator.—Soon afterwards certain Argentine provinces issued laws which intrusted General Mitre with provisional authority until a new administration might be organized. On April 22, 1862, Mitre announced that he assumed control of the national government with the title of the governor of Buenos Aires who was entrusted with the national executive power. He called for the election of a Congress, which assembled on May 25. In accord with a constitutional amendment of 1860, Congress adjusted the delicate question about the location of the federal capital by a compromise which provided that the seat of government should be in the city of Buenos Aires for five years. In October, 1862, Mitre was elected president of the republic.

President Mitre.—President Mitre was the first chief magistrate of the Argentine republic who ruled over all of her territory. Although his ascendancy marked the triumph of metropolitan influence, yet he promoted national unity in many ways. He signed a law which provided for the assumption of the debt that had been incurred by Urquiza. Insurrections which broke out in several provinces Mitre subdued. His secretary of the interior improved relations among the provinces by promoting the postal and telegraphic service. His minister of instruction founded national colleges. His secretary of the treasury reformed the customs service. The government of Mitre authorized the negotiation of a treaty with Spain by which in September, 1863, Argentina's independence was acknowledged. With the aid and sympathy of Argentine citizens, General Flores, a leader of the *Colorado* party in Uruguay who had fought under Mitre at Pavón, prepared an expedition against the *Blancos* who were in control of the government at Montevideo. The war waged against Paraguay during the administration of Mitre will be described in connection with the history of that state.

Mitre's "Political Testament."—In November, 1867, President Mitre wrote a significant letter to José M. Gutiérrez. Mitre declared that his task had been to prepare the way for the free election of a president. He expressed the opinion that the chief magistrate of the Argentine Republic should not use his official influence in favor of any presidential candidate—in a word, he announced that he did not intend to be used as an electoral instrument. This letter has been styled Mitre's "political testament."

The Civil Code of Argentina.—In pursuance of the precedent established during the colonial and revolutionary periods Argentina's Constitution provided that the central government should enact civil, commercial, and other codes. A commercial code was adopted in 1862. Urquiza appointed a commission to draft a civil code. When Mitre became president he selected to frame this code Dalmacio Vélez Sársfield, a prominent jurist. Vélez Sársfield's draft was submitted to the Argentine Congress which adopted it in September, 1869. The civil code of Argentina was composed of some four thousand articles which were largely taken from Brazilian, French, Spanish, and Chilean sources. Those articles were arranged in four books: book I dealt with persons; book II with personal rights; book III with property rights; and book IV with various provisions about real and personal rights, especially succession and inheritance.

Domingo F. Sarmiento.—Domingo F. Sarmiento, who was unexpectedly elected president of Argentina in 1868, was a distinguished educator and a pugnacious publicist. While an exile from his native land during the tyranny of Rosas, he taught school in Chile and studied European and American educational systems. When elected to the presidency he was serving as Argentine minister in the United States.

Sarmiento as President.—President Sarmiento promoted public education in various ways. He signed a law which provided for the establishment of national normal schools. He issued a decree which reorganized the curricula of secondary schools. He promoted the introduction of methods and teachers from the United States into Argentina. When López Jordán, the avowed assassin of Urquiza, became governor of Entre Ríos, President Sarmiento sent a military

expedition to the province to restore order. The provincial authorities viewed that action as an attack upon their autonomy. The civil strife which ensued between national and provincial soldiers did not terminate until López Jordán was routed. This was the first time that the national government intervened by force against a province.

Social and Economic Conditions.—During Sarmiento's administration railroads were built from Córdoba to Tucumán, and from Concordia to Mercedes. Telegraph lines were extended. Immigration from Spain, France, and Italy was encouraged. Commerce with England, France, the United States, and Spain increased and with it the public revenues. The first national census—which was taken in 1869—showed that Argentina had a population of 1,743,353. Of those 211,993 were foreigners. In 1869 the revenues of Argentina amounted to 12,496,000 pesos, while her expenditures came to 9,620,000 pesos.

Progress under President Avellaneda.—Nicolás Avellaneda, who had been secretary of justice and public instruction under Sarmiento, was elected president in 1874. A native of the province of Tucumán who became a resident of the metropolis, a journalist and statesman who used the spoken and the written word to great effect, he was admirably fitted for the presidency. To him fell the task of suppressing a revolt led by ex-President Mitre, who protested against the use of official influence in elections. President Avellaneda continued the educational reforms which had been initiated by Sarmiento: he founded numerous primary and secondary schools throughout the republic. Foreign commerce and immigration increased greatly. During the period from 1874 to 1880 over a quarter of a million foreigners landed in Argentina. In 1879 Argentina exported some forty-seven million pesos worth of products and imported forty-four million pesos worth of merchandise. A step which marked the decline of animosity between the national government and the province of Buenos Aires was a law of September 20, 1880, by which the city of Buenos Aires was declared to be the nation's capital. The legislature of the province of Buenos Aires approved this measure and provided for the establishment of its new capital at La Plata. The region which had been

under the control of the municipality of Buenos Aires thus became the federal district of Argentina. In 1879 General Roca led an expedition against the Patagonian Indians and advanced the southern frontier of the republic to the Río Negro. Upon his return he was proclaimed a candidate for the presidency.

Reopening of the Falkland Controversy.—No uprisings against the government occurred during the presidency of Julio A. Roca, 1880–1886. In 1884 Argentina instructed her minister at Washington to urge upon the United States the claim concerning the Falkland Islands which had been presented by Alvear. The Argentine government estimated the value of the colony which Duncan had destroyed at over two hundred thousand pesos and declared that it was willing to submit the dispute to arbitration. In a message to Congress in December, 1885, President Cleveland described the Argentine settlement in the Falkland Archipelago as “a piratical colony,” and stated that his government considered Argentina’s claim as “wholly groundless.” The Argentine minister to the United States, Vicente G. Quesada, soon tried to correct those statements. He argued that the action of the United States that virtually supported the seizure of the Falkland Islands by England was “in flagrant opposition” to the Doctrine of Monroe. Quesada’s protest was in vain.

Domestic Problems under President Roca.—President Roca authorized several military expeditions against the Indians in northern and southern Argentina, thus opening up more territory to settlement. His administration was distinguished by great material progress. During the years from 1880 to 1886 the national revenues increased almost one hundred per cent, while the number of immigrants and the railway mileage almost doubled. Yet no such advance was made politically. Long before the expiration of his term, Roca began to lay plans for the presidential succession: his candidate was a comparatively obscure relative, Miguel Juárez Celman, who had been governor of the province of Córdoba. In October, 1886, Celman was inaugurated president, while Carlos Pellegrini became vice-president.

Financial and Political Crises. — President Celman reaped the whirlwind in finance as well as in politics. Ex-

cessive speculation and large issues of inconvertible paper money during the early years of his administration prepared the way for a crisis. As Celman left his own political party, the opposition to his administration increased. A popular tumult in the city of Buenos Aires on April 13, 1890, signalized the birth of a new political party, the *Unión Cívica* or the Radical party, whose members soon engaged in armed struggles against the government. After the rebels were compelled to desist because of lack of munitions, about sixty congressmen asked the President to resign. In consequence Pellegrini assumed the presidency in August, 1890. As the national banks and the bank of the province of Buenos Aires closed their doors in March, 1891, in the following December the Argentine government opened a new banking institution known as the *Banco de la Nación*. With the right to establish branches in the provinces, that bank soon became a powerful force in Argentine finance.

Presidents Luis Sáenz Peña and José E. Uriburu.—In 1892 Luis Sáenz Peña became president of Argentina. The agitation of the Radical party stimulated an insurrectionary spirit in various provinces. That party even proclaimed one of its leaders the provisional president of the republic; but Sáenz Peña proclaimed martial law; and soldiers under General Roca subdued the insurrectionists. After several cabinet crises, in January 1895, Sáenz Peña gave way to the vice-president, José E. Uriburu. During his administration a serious controversy between Brazil and Argentina about their boundary line was adjusted. The controversy originated largely from the fact that the limits between Spanish and Portuguese America, as sketched in the Treaty of San Ildefonso, had never been thoroughly surveyed. The debatable region included a part of the territory where Jesuit fathers had planted missions. After a long dispute as to which of two river systems in reality constituted the limits, the contending nations decided to submit the question to the arbitration of the President of the United States. The functions of arbitrator devolved upon President Cleveland. After carefully considering the arguments and the documents presented by the distinguished representatives of Argentina and Brazil, on February 5, 1895, the President announced his decision; namely, that

the boundary line between the two republics should follow the westerly of the two river systems. In other words, Cleveland decided that Brazil's contention was right. His award was accepted by Argentina. Three years later a Convention amended the national Constitution in two important particulars: it changed the quota of representation required for one deputy from twenty thousand to thirty-three thousand; and it increased the number of members in the cabinet to eight.

Roca Becomes President Again.—Soon afterwards General Roca again became president. Important measures of his second administration were concerned with the currency and diplomacy. On November 3, 1899, he signed a law which provided that the nation should redeem her paper pesos of one hundred centavos for forty-four centavos in gold. The redemption was to be made through a financial institution called the *Caja de Conversión*. In international relations a significant move was made by Argentina in connection with the attempt of three European nations in 1903 forcibly to collect from Venezuela debts which she owed their citizens. Luis M. Drago, Roca's secretary of foreign relations, protested to the government of the United States and formulated a doctrine denying the right of a European government forcibly to collect debts owed by a Latin-American nation—a doctrine that became known as "the Drago Doctrine."

Subsequent Presidents to 1910.—Upon the conclusion of the second presidency of Roca in 1904, Dr. Manuel Quintana was elected president. A few months after his inauguration a revolt broke out which was ascribed to members of the Radical party who, alleging that liberty of suffrage was not permitted, had abstained from voting in the presidential election. A short time after the suppression of the revolt, President Quintana died, and was succeeded by Vice-President José Figueroa Alcorta. Of his secretaries two, at least, deserve mention: Rómulo Naón, secretary of public instruction, who established rural normal schools; and Ezequiel Ramos Mexía, secretary of public works, who formed a plan for the construction of railways in Patagonia.

Electoral Reform under Roque Sáenz Peña.—In 1910 Roque Sáenz Peña, the candidate of the so-called Nationalist party, was elected president. He came to the presidency with

a determination to abstain from official interference in elections. In his first message to Congress President Sáenz Peña called for electoral reform. In February, 1912, he signed a significant law which aimed to compel every properly qualified voter to cast his ballot at national elections. It provided that in a room without windows the ballot of each voter was to be enclosed in an envelope which should then be deposited in a ballot box. A voter who, without good cause, failed to exercise the electoral franchise was to be prosecuted; and, if convicted, he should be punished by a fine. Other provisions aimed to protect the voter from intimidation. When Sáenz Peña was compelled to retire because of ill health, and Vice-President Victorino de la Plaza became president, the latter notified provincial and municipal magistrates that the national executive would endeavor to prevent any official interference in the approaching presidential campaign.

Conditions on the Eve of the World War: Army and Navy.—After 1898 the army and the navy were under the control of different secretaries. Article XXI of the Constitution declared that every natural-born Argentine citizen should be subject to military service as provided by law. A law was enacted in 1901 which made military service compulsory upon natural-born citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five for the nominal period of twenty-five years. Upon attaining the age of twenty years every male citizen was to serve in the regular army one year or in the navy two years. A conscript belonged to the reserve of the standing army until he reached the age of thirty; then he passed into the national guard for ten years; and lastly into the territorial guard for five years. In 1913 the standing army comprised some twenty thousand men. All army officers were trained in a military school at San Martín. Argentina was divided into five military districts with headquarters at Buenos Aires, La Plata, Paraná, Córdoba, and Tucumán. The provisions for service in the navy resembled those for the army. Some seven thousand men were enrolled in the active naval service in 1913. At that time the fleet included three armored cruisers, four protected cruisers, five iron-clads, five torpedo boats, and two torpedo-boat destroyers, besides river gunboats and auxiliary vessels.

Immigration and Population.—Article XXV of the Argentine Constitution declared that the federal government should encourage European immigration. In 1876 a law was enacted which provided that the national government should aid and assist immigrants in various ways. An Argentine statistician has calculated that from 1857 to 1909 some three and one-half million European immigrants landed at Buenos Aires. He estimated that on December 31, 1909, there were in Argentina over two million two hundred thousand foreigners. European nations had contributed contingents in the following order: Italians, Spaniards, French, Russians, Syrians, Austrians, English, Germans, and Swiss. The ratio of foreigners to Argentine citizens can be shown by census figures. In 1895 the foreigners in Argentina comprised more than one-quarter of the population. Of a total population of 7,905,502 in 1914, 2,378,217 were foreigners. About forty per cent of the population of the capital city was foreign-born. In 1914 that metropolis contained over one and one-half million inhabitants. The most densely populated regions were the federal district, the province of Buenos Aires, and the provinces bordering the river Paraná. The most sparsely populated region was southern Patagonia.

Language and Religion.—The official language of the Argentine Nation is Spanish. In popular usage, at least, that language has been corrupted or modified because of the presence of a large foreign element. The citizens of Argentina also inherited the Roman Catholic faith, which is a privileged religion. As prescribed in the Constitution, the State supports that Church and the Argentine President must be a Catholic. Still the Constitution provides that other religions shall be tolerated. Catholic bishops are located at the cities of La Plata, Santa Fé, Paraná, Corrientes, Córdoba, Tucumán, Salta, Catamarca, San Juan, and Santiago del Estero. The federal capital has become the seat of an archbishop.

Transportation.—The city of Buenos Aires—the heart of the republic—is the center of the Argentine transportation system. Steamships from Uruguay, Brazil, Chile, the United States, and various European nations regularly touch at that port. Side-wheel steamers ply regularly from Buenos Aires up the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers as far as Asunción. The

railways of Argentina have been promoted by North American enterprise, by English capital, and by national subsidies. Buenos Aires has become the focus of the best railway system in Latin America. By 1914 some twenty thousand miles of railway radiated from Argentina's capital. In part those lines were owned by the nation and in part by private corporations. Among important roads was the line from Buenos Aires across the pampas to Mendoza and thence across the Andes to Santiago, the railway which crossed northern Patagonia, and the railroad which had been opened in 1913 from Buenos Aires to Posadas and thence to the Paraguayan capital.

Occupations.—In 1914 Argentina was primarily an agricultural and pastoral country. Vast herds of cattle, sheep, horses, goats, and swine grazed on her pampas, plains, and steppes. The establishment of large packing plants has recently furnished occupation for many people. Argentine agriculture is diversified: corn and wheat are the most important cereals; in certain zones viniculture is an important industry; and, especially in the province of Tucumán, much attention is paid to the cultivation of sugar cane. Gold, silver, and copper are mined in the Andean zone; and other minerals are found there, although not always in paying quantities. Along the Atlantic coast the fisheries are a minor industry. Flour and sugar mills, creameries, cheese factories, tanneries, cigar and cigarette factories have been established, besides a few factories of shoes, clothing, and furniture. With the development of Argentina's foreign commerce, an increasing number of persons have found employment in mercantile transactions, especially in the city of Buenos Aires.

Economic Development.—An index of the economic development of Argentina is found in her commerce. A comparison of the statistics of her foreign trade in 1896 and in 1914 shows the lines of greatest growth. In 1896 the exports of her agricultural products, including wheat, flax, corn, oats, flour, and bran, amounted to 43,132,585 pesos of gold, while in 1914 exports of the same articles amounted to 184,367,331 gold pesos. In 1896 the exports of her pastoral products, including live stock, preserved meat, extract of beef, wool, butter, tallow, blood, and bones, amounted to 70,534,000 pesos of gold, while in 1914 exports of the same group of articles

amounted to 151,746,228 gold pesos. The total value of Argentina's exports in 1914 was 349,254,141 pesos of gold. In the same year her imports—which consisted mainly of manufactured articles—amounted to 271,811,900 pesos of gold. At that time the foreign debt of Argentina amounted to some 550,000,000 gold pesos.

Monetary System.—In Argentina, as in Brazil, it is necessary to specify whether money is gold or paper. When at par the Argentine gold peso, which is the standard of value, is worth ninety-six and one-half cents in United States currency. A paper peso in Argentina is legally worth forty-four per cent of a gold peso. Theoretically parity between the gold and the paper peso is maintained by a redemption fund of gold that is kept in the *Caja de Conversión*. Upon the outbreak of the Great War, however, redemption was suspended.

Public Education.—In Argentina the national, provincial, and municipal governments support public education. According to the Constitution of 1860 the management of primary education was entrusted to the provincial governments. Because of the alarming increase of illiteracy, however, a law was enacted in 1905 which authorized the national government to establish primary schools in the provinces. Both national and provincial governments thus participate in the support of primary schools; and in a few provinces the municipalities support such schools. Secondary education, which is mainly given in academies designated as *colegios*, is supported by the national government. The provinces, as well as the nation, support the normal schools. Almost all of the important institutions of commercial or technical education are national.

Universities.—Although supported by the national government, the Universities of Santa Fé and Tucumán are under the direction of their respective provinces. The great national universities of Argentina are the University of Córdoba, the University of La Plata, and the University of Buenos Aires. The University of Córdoba—which succeeded the institution founded by Bishop Trejo—has colleges of law, medicine, and engineering. The University of La Plata—located at the capital of the province of Buenos Aires—is composed of six colleges: natural science; physical science, mathematics and

astronomy; juridical and social sciences; agronomy and veterinary science; the science of education; and a preparatory college. The University of Buenos Aires is composed of five colleges: economic sciences; law and social sciences; philosophy and letters; medicine; exact, physical, and natural sciences; and agronomy and veterinary science. Those institutions, which are supported by fees and by appropriations from the national government, had in 1914 an aggregate attendance of some eight thousand students.

Poetic Literature.—Since May 11, 1813, when Vicente López y Planes read the national hymn to a Constituent Assembly at Buenos Aires, the Argentine people have produced a varied literature. Juan C. Varela was a lyrical poet upon the classic model, who also wrote tragedies and whose last poem *Al 25 de Mayo de 1838*, was directed from exile against Dictator Rosas. Even before that poem was written, Esteban Echeverría had published a poem called *Elvira* which marked the introduction of romanticism into Argentina. A thinker as well as a poet, he was the author of *Dogma Socialista*. His most famous poem was *La Cautiva*, a poem of the Indians and the pampas which was an early expression of Argentine romanticism. Another versatile spirit—historian as well as poet—was Juan María Gutiérrez. While an exile in Montevideo, Gutiérrez won a prize for his *Canto á Mayo*. Other well-known poems of Gutiérrez were *Á mi bandera* and *Á la juventud argentina*. Gutiérrez also compiled a bibliography of the press in the viceroyalty of la Plata. A frequent contributor to the *Revista de Buenos Aires* and to the *Revista del Río de la Plata*, he is perhaps the most distinguished man of letters that Argentina has produced. One of the most sympathetic of Argentine poets was Carlos Guido y Spano. French intervention in Mexico inspired him to compose *México: canto épico*. The alliance of Argentina with Brazil and Uruguay against Paraguay provoked him to write *Nenia*, a lyric poem in which a Guaraní maiden mourns the loss of her nearest and dearest relatives in the Paraguayan War. A most intensely national poet was Olegario V. Andrade, whose verses on patriotic themes stirred the pulses of Argentina's citizens.

Prose.—A literary man who detested Rosas was the publicist Bartolomé Mitre, who was an historian as well as a

poet. One of his anti-Rosista poems entitled *Invalido* became a popular song; in his poems of the pampas he sang of the Argentine *gaucho*. In 1858 Mitre's *Historia de Belgrano* was published. Many years later his *Historia de San Martín* established his reputation as one of the foremost American historians. Mitre would have won undying fame had he done nothing more than found *La Nación* of Buenos Aires, which, under his editorship, became one of the leading newspapers of Latin America. A most voluminous prose writer, his published writings fill volumes that discuss a great variety of subjects: immigration, internal improvements, Pan-Americanism, the Paraguayan War, and Argentina's Constitution. Another voluminous prose author was Domingo F. Sarmiento, whose articles, books, and reports fill some fifty volumes. His famous book is *Facundo, ó la civilización y la barbarie*. Nominally the book was a biography of Juan Facundo Quiroga: in reality it was a picturesque account of life on the Argentine plains and of struggles between the Federalists and the "Unitarians" or Centralists. Juan Bautista Alberdi, a thinker who lived many years in exile because he dissented from "those twin colossi, Mitre and Sarmiento," wrote voluminously about social and economic conditions in South America. Among his posthumous writings was a remarkable essay entitled *El Crimen de la Guerra*. Among a host of living historians and critics, only one may be mentioned, Pablo Grousac, the director of the national library.

Fine Arts.—Interest in the fine arts in Argentina has had a marked increase in recent decades. The earliest painters and sculptors of note were foreigners, chiefly Frenchmen or Italians. A few illustrations of artistic productions of Argentine citizens must here suffice. Perhaps the most distinctive painting of Eduardo Sivori was *La pampa en Olavarría*. For many years an illustrator for *La Nación*, Agosto Ballerini, produced among other paintings *La hermana de caridad*, *La sombra de San Martín*, and the *Apoteosis de Mariano Moreno*. Ernesto de la Cárcova painted a notable picture entitled *Sin pan y sin trabajo*. Among Argentine sculptors may be mentioned Francisco Caffereta, who chiseled statues of General Belgrano, Mariano Moreno, and Bernardino Rivadavia. Another prominent sculptor is Mateo Alons, from whose atelier

have come such products as *Borrachera*, *Amén*, and *El indio moribundo*. During the presidency of Dr. Quintana a school of painting at Buenos Aires was by law transformed into the National Academy of Fine Arts. Partly as the result of private generosity, within the walls of that academy there have been gathered many products of the Argentine brush and chisel and also a few paintings by Spanish masters.

Increase in the Power of the National Government.—Perhaps the most significant political development in Argentina since the battle of Pavón has been the steady growth in power of the national government. Its powers have been interpreted liberally. To a considerable extent this has meant the political predominance of the city of Buenos Aires. Nationalism in Argentina has been stimulated by a practice adopted by the federal government of making grants of money to the provinces to promote their internal development. The national government has even constructed sanitary works in cities. The provinces have been further subordinated to the national government because of its armed intervention in provincial affairs. Again, the natural increase of power has aided to make the Argentine government a strongly centralized organization in which the provinces do not really play a part comparable with the rôle of the states in the North American Republic. A careful student of politics has expressed the opinion that the Argentine provinces are scarcely more than administrative divisions.

Political Parties.—Political groups or parties have also changed. No longer is there a definite alignment of parties over the issues of federalism or centralism. No longer are there factions that dispute about the federalization of the city of Buenos Aires. During the last quarter century the political groups that have made most progress have been the Socialists and the Radicals. The Socialists have been an extreme party largely made up of laborers who advocated such reforms as proportional representation and the single tax. So far as may be discerned, the main political principle held by members of the Radical party prior to 1916 was that a complete change should be made in the existing political situation. Although they wished to turn the conservative politicians out of office, yet, in general, they were not economic radicals. Against

those political groups which opposed the established order, the National party and other conservative groups drew closer together but did not unite.

Triumph of the Radical Party.—The electoral reform of 1912 gave the Radical party its opportunity. The result of the campaign of 1916 was a political revolution of the first magnitude. Hipólito Irigoyen, the candidate of the Radical party, was elected president. Of Basque descent, Irigoyen had been a prominent leader of the Radical party for many years: he had not, however, held any important political office. Neither he nor his party had made any definite statement of political principles. During his administration there has certainly been no decrease in the power of the President.

Influence of the World War on Argentina.—Like Brazil, Argentina early felt the disturbing effects of the World War. European capital was withdrawn from that country, projected material improvements were retarded or laid aside, and attempts were made to replace by home manufactures articles that had formerly been imported. Alcohol, blankets, dyestuffs, furniture, saddles, and shoes were manufactured for domestic consumption and occasionally for export. The currents of Argentine foreign commerce were shifted toward the Allies and the United States. There was a greatly increased demand for Argentina's meat and wheat.

President Irigoyen and the World War.—Here again, a menacing problem was raised by Germany's submarine policy. The Argentine government expressed regret at Germany's note announcing the renewal of an unrestricted submarine campaign. On April 10, 1917, Argentina notified the United States government that she recognized the justice of its decision to make war upon the German Imperial Government. Shortly afterwards two Argentine merchant vessels were sunk by German torpedoes. After a fruitless exchange of notes, on August 5, 1917, the Argentine government sent to Germany a categorical demand for an indemnity because of ships that had been sunk by submarines. To the surprise of some publicists Germany agreed to Argentina's demand for an indemnity on August 28 following; and also gave a guaranty that there would be no further destruction of Argentine ships by German submarines. Two days later Argentina accepted that adjust-

ment. After the United States government published the Luxburg correspondence—which demonstrated that Count Luxburg, the German envoy at Buenos Aires, had secretly advised the government at Berlin either to spare two Argentine ships that were soon to enter the submarine zone or else to sink them without leaving any trace (*spurlos versenken*)—in September, 1917, both houses of Argentina's Congress by large majorities adopted resolutions declaring that diplomatic relations with Germany should be severed. The President ultimately handed the Imperial envoy his passports. Yet, apparently influenced by persons who believed that Argentina should formulate a policy of her own, Irigoyen took no further measures against the Imperial German Government.

Aftermath of the World War.—In protest at this attitude the Argentine ambassador at Washington resigned his post. Early in 1918 a serious railroad strike—ascribed to pro-German agitation—occurred, which evidently aimed to prevent the shipment of grain abroad. New export duties were levied to check the outward flow of food stuffs. In accordance with a law which placed the control of articles of necessity in the hands of the President, in August, 1918, he prohibited the exportation of certain products. A proposed loan of some two hundred million pesos to the Allies to be used in the purchase of food stuffs from Argentina was blocked in the Senate. In October, 1919, Germany tried in vain to get a smaller loan for a similar purpose. Plans were nevertheless formed for a renewal of German immigration to Argentina. Indicative of social and economic unrest, several strikes occurred in 1919. Suppositions were rife that their complications were due to Bolshevik propaganda. On May 1, a general strike was called; but the national government intervened to settle the difficulty. A society called the Argentine Citizens of Order was formed to combat anarchic disturbers of the peace.

Summary.—From the point of view of conditions that existed at the beginning of her independent life, Argentina has progressed farther than her great neighbor on the North. Out of an age marked—if indeed it may be aptly characterized at all—by social chaos and political anarchy, with bounds vaguely defined and imperfectly understood, and with smaller nationalities tugging at her apron strings, Argentina has developed into

a comparatively well-populated nation with definite boundaries and a cosmopolitan population. Spanish though her civilization is in many of its admirable traits, yet her people—especially in Buenos Aires—are drawn from the four quarters of the earth. Indeed if it were not for the intense spirit of nationalism that pervades the intelligent, native citizenry of Buenos Aires, one might be tempted to designate the capital city—as the author once overheard an Argentine citizen designate it—as a battle field where foreign, or at least non-Argentine, influences are struggling for the mastery. A most hopeful sign in Argentine political life has been the emergence of a genuine desire for democratic government. The recent advent to power of a progressive party—a party rooted largely in the Argentine provinces, and in the main opposed to aristocratic privilege and to prerogatives of class and caste—may, despite the errors that it seems bound to make, signalize the dawning of a new era in Argentine politics. With a physical environment similar to that of the United States, the Argentine republic seems destined to remain for a considerable period an agricultural and pastoral country that will furnish tribute to a metropolis which in some particulars vies with New York and Paris.

CHAPTER IX

URUGUAY

The Creation of Uruguay.—Uruguay originated from that section of the viceroyalty of la Plata which, in part, had been a debatable land between Portugal and Spain. On the eve of the Revolution against Spanish rule in America the *Banda Oriental del Uruguay* occupied that portion of the extensive intendency of Buenos Aires which stretched on the northeast to the junction of the Uruguay and the Peperí-Guazú Rivers. In the chapters dealing with the Revolution and with the history of Argentina the rise of Uruguay under Artigas and Lavalleja has been outlined. When General Sucre won the battle of Ayacucho, Uruguayan soil was occupied by Brazilian soldiers. A description has also been given of the war between Argentina and Brazil culminating in the battle of Ituzaingó, which was followed by the Argentine-Brazilian treaty of 1828 that guaranteed the independence of the region upon the east bank of the Uruguay River.⁷ A clause of this treaty provided that the proposed constitution of Uruguay should be approved by representatives of both Argentina and Brazil before it should be put into operation. Curiously enough this significant treaty contained no stipulations about the boundaries of Uruguay.⁷

The Constituent Assembly of 1829.—In November, 1828, a Constituent Assembly for Uruguay assembled at San José. It appointed a provisional governor, who on December 13, 1828, issued a decree announcing that all foreign officials should cease to exercise authority within the territory of Uruguay.⁷ Soon afterwards the soldiers of Argentina and Brazil left the region east of the lower course of the Uruguay River. Meantime the Constituent Assembly had appointed a committee to frame a constitution. After some debate the Assembly decided to designate the new state *La República Oriental del Uruguay*.⁷ A Constitution for this state was approved by the

Constituent Assembly on September 10, 1829. About nine months later Uruguayan envoys returned from Brazil and Argentina with the welcome news that those governments had accepted the Constitution. In accordance with a proclamation of the Assembly, on July 18, 1830, the civil and military officials of Uruguay swore to support and defend the Constitution.

The Uruguayan Constitution of 1830.—The Uruguayan Constitution of 1830 provided for a centralized form of government. It vested executive authority in a President, a cabinet, and a permanent committee of Congress. The President, who was to be elected by Congress for four years, was vested with important powers. He was the commander in chief of the army and navy; he was granted the right to appoint the chief civil officers; he could introduce bills into Congress and was given the power of veto; he could suspend the operation of federal laws; and he could commute sentences. His cabinet was to be composed of as many executive officers as might be necessary. A permanent committee of seven congressmen was empowered, during the recess of Congress, to watch over the execution of the Constitution and the laws. It could make recommendations to Congress and to the President, and might convoke Congress to meet in special session. Congress was composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate was to contain one member from each of the nine departments of the republic who should be chosen by indirect election. The lower house should be composed of members elected by popular vote in proportion to population. Besides the right to elect the President, Congress was granted power to levy taxes, to create new departments, and to provide for the establishment of banks. Judicial authority was vested in a high court of justice, a court or courts of appeals, and courts of the first instance as set by law. The judges of the high court of justice should be appointed by the President. Among other clauses was one providing that the supreme court should have jurisdiction over all cases concerning the violation of the Constitution.

Local Government.—The unit of local government was the department. In the chief town of each department a *jefe politico* appointed by the President should act as the executive

magistrate. In minor towns subordinate officials were to be placed who should be responsible to the *jefe político*.

Rivalry between Generals Rivera and Lavalleja.—To a Congress elected under the Constitution of 1830 two names were presented in candidacy for the presidency: Juan A. Lavalleja, and Fructuoso Rivera. Lavalleja had been the leader of "the thirty-three immortals" of 1825, while the other candidate had been one of his trusted lieutenants in the struggle for independence. A spirit of rivalry had unfortunately sprung up between them even before the Uruguayan Constitution was framed. [The Congress of Uruguay elected General Rivera as President of the republic; and he was installed in office upon returning from his military post, on November 6, 1830.] In July, 1832, General Lavalleja started a revolt against President Rivera; but two months later the President routed the insurrectionists at Tupambay. Lavalleja was consequently forced to seek a refuge in Brazil. The hero of 1825 started another uprising two years later only to be thwarted again.

Between Rivera and Oribe.—Upon the expiration of his term Rivera quietly gave up his office and Congress elected as his successor Manuel Oribe, another general who had won distinction during the war for independence. During the first year of Oribe's presidency, it seemed as though the republic were entering upon an era of tranquillity and prosperity. Yet later President Oribe [permitted the Lavallejistas to return from exile, and after he had removed the ex-President from the command of the army, General Rivera was aroused to action, especially as suspicion was rife that President Oribe was acting under the influence of Dictator Rosas.] That ruler sent soldiers under Lavalleja to aid Oribe against Rivera.

Blancos and Colorados.—Perhaps because of a mark worn by those soldiers, Oribe ordered his followers to wear a distinctive device, while Rivera commanded his soldiers to wear a colored badge. On September 19, 1836, Oribe defeated Rivera at the battle of Carpintería. This battle—where Oribe's soldiers carried white pennants, while Rivera's soldiers bore red pennants—marked the first appearance in the internecine struggles of Uruguay of the *Blancos* and the *Colorados*—factions or parties which have divided the sympathies of the Uruguayan people from 1836 until the present day.]

Triumph of the Colorados.—In 1838 Rivera routed the forces of Oribe, who resigned the presidency and fled to the Argentine capital. After a brief *interregnum*—when the president of the Senate acted as chief magistrate of the republic—[General Rivera was reelected president.] On March 10, 1839, Rivera, who was assured of support from the French and from Argentine *émigrés*, issued a proclamation declaring war against the tyrant Rosas, but not upon the people of Argentina.] A treaty between Rosas and the French agent Mackau dated October 29, 1840, contained an ambiguous clause which stated that the Argentine government would consider Uruguay as an independent nation so long as this might be demanded by the justice, the honor, and the security of the Argentine Confederation. [After defeating Rivera by the aid of the soldiers of Rosas, in 1843 Oribe invested the *Colorados*, who were entrenched at Montevideo. The years from 1843 to 1851 in which Montevideo was besieged are known in Uruguayan history as *la guerra grande*.] Upon the eve of the downfall of Rosas, on October 8, 1851, in accordance with an agreement between himself and government at Montevideo, General Urquiza made a treaty with Oribe which provided for the cessation of the war and left the *Colorados* in power.] Article V of that treaty declared that among the warring factions of Uruguay there were left neither victors nor vanquished.

Adjustment of Boundaries with Brazil.—Shortly after the close of this struggle, Brazilian diplomacy scored a triumph by the negotiation of a group of treaties with the Uruguayan minister in Rio de Janeiro. By the second article of the treaty of limits signed on October 12, [1851] an agreement was reached that the basis of the arrangement in regard to the boundaries between Uruguay and Brazil should be the *uti possidetis* defined in the act by which a Congress at Montevideo in 1821 had declared that the *Banda Oriental del Uruguay* belonged to Portuguese America. [That act defined the limits of the annexed territory on the west and the north to be the Uruguay River. On the north and the east the boundary line was to be the river Cuarerim, the ridge of Santa Anna, the Yaguarón River, and Lake Merim by way of San Miguel to the Atlantic Ocean. The adjustment of 1851 between Brazil and Uruguay accordingly sanctioned the retention by Brazil of portions of

← poor use
of bon

the rich *misiones* territory which she had occupied after the Treaty of 1777 had acknowledged them to belong to Spanish America. It also gave to Brazil the exclusive right to navigate the Yaguarón River and Lake Merim—a privilege which she did not allow Uruguay to share until more than half a century had elapsed.]

Internal and External Complications.—During the presidency of a *Blanco* named Bernardo Berro, Uruguay returned to Argentina the island of Martín García, which had been seized by Uruguayans under Garibaldi in 1845. [General Venancio Flores, a *Colorado* who became President in 1854, asked Brazil to intervene in the distracted republic; hence for three years Brazilian soldiers were stationed upon Uruguayan soil. In 1857 a short-sighted politician named Juan C. Gómez formed a chimerical plan for the annexation of Uruguay to the province of Buenos Aires and the creation of a republic designated the “United States of la Plata.” A band of invaders from Argentina that aimed to carry out this plan was eventually defeated and its leaders were ruthlessly shot. During the presidency of Gabriel A. Pereira some administrative reforms were made and the Jesuits were expelled from Uruguay. Bernardo Berro, who became president for the second time in 1860, also essayed certain reforms, but during his administration General Flores invaded the republic and civil war flared up again.]

Intervention by Brazil.—In May, 1864, during the administration of President Aguirre the government of Brazil dispatched an envoy named José A. Saraiva to Montevideo to make a final plea for the settlement of claims for damages to life and property that had been suffered by citizens of the Empire residing in the republic. Uruguay met this demand by the presentation of counter claims. [When Saraiva’s attempt at a reconciliation failed, on August 4, 1864, he presented an ultimatum demanding immediate fulfillment of the Brazilian claims and threatening reprisals if satisfaction were not granted. After the Uruguayan government rejected these terms, the Brazilian government issued orders to Admiral Tamandaré and General Menno Barréto to occupy the Uruguayan cities of Cerro Largo, Salto, and Paysandú. In October Admiral Tamandaré reached an agreement for concert of

action with General Flores, who was leading an insurrection against the government of Aguirre. As Dictator López of Paraguay apparently had an understanding with the *Blancos* of Uruguay that he should support Aguirre, he protested at the proceedings of Brazil. Yet forces of Tamandaré and Flores blockaded Salto and Paysandú. Salto soon capitulated, and Paysandú fell in January, 1865, after an heroic defense by General Leandro Gómez. The enraged populace of Montevideo publicly burned the originals of existing treaties between Uruguay and Brazil. Meantime the Imperial government had dispatched Silva Paranhos—who later became Viscount Rio Branco—to Buenos Aires on a special mission. In the end of January, 1865, this diplomat made an agreement with Flores, “general in chief of the army of liberation,” by which that general promised to satisfy Brazil’s claims against Uruguay and to observe existing treaties, while Silva Paranhos gave a pledge that his government would protect Uruguayan citizens within the Empire and would satisfy their legitimate claims. On February 22 General Flores entered Montevideo and assumed the title of Provisional Governor. Brazilian diplomacy had scored a triumph: it had secured a satisfactory peace with Uruguay and had gained the Empire an ally in the impending war with Paraguay, which will be described in the following chapter. In January, 1838, Flores promulgated the civil code of Uruguay, which was to go into force in the following April.

The Insurrection of Aparicio.—In 1870 under the leadership of Colonel Aparicio the *Blancos* defeated the *Colorados* and even laid siege to Montevideo. After being vanquished in the battles of Sauce and Manantiales by soldiers of the government, on April 6, 1872, through the mediation of the Argentine consul, a peace was signed which reconciled the warring factions. It provided that gratifications were to be distributed among the soldiers of Aparicio, insurrectionary leaders were to retain the military grades that they had enjoyed before the uprising, and leaders of the *Blancos* were made the administrative heads of four departments. This adjustment of the contending factions, which was designed to satisfy the *Blancos* by conceding them a share in the functions and emoluments of government, was greeted by the people with joy.

Emergence of Lorenzo Latorre.—The stimulus to industry and commerce which resulted, however, was only temporary. On January 15, 1875, as the result of a military conspiracy, a weak president named José E. Ellauri was deposed, and Pedro Varela was installed as chief executive. Although Varela deported his political opponents, yet a revolt broke out against him in 1875. A collapse of public credit because the creditors of the government were paid in depreciated paper instead of in gold caused 1875 to be designated the "Terrible Year." Gold reached a premium of over eight hundred per cent. In 1876 the ex-secretary of war, Colonel Lorenzo Latorre, took Varela's place and assumed the rôle of dictator. Latorre was elected "Constitutional President" in March, 1879. He reorganized the system of public instruction and undertook to embellish the capital city.

General Santos as President and Dictator.—In the face of bitter and increasing opposition to his domination, on March 13, 1880, Latorre resigned his magistracy, and issued a proclamation declaring that Uruguay was "ungovernable." A good physician but a poor publicist, Dr. Francisco A. Vidal, who was elected to fill Latorre's unexpired term, became the nominal ruler. After Vidal's resignation, on March 1, 1882, his secretary of war and the navy, General Máximo Santos, was elected Constitutional President for four years. On October 9, 1882, the ratifications of a treaty were finally exchanged with Spain by which that nation acknowledged Uruguay's independence. During the administration of Santos he sanctioned a law that made civil marriage legal and obligatory throughout the republic. Unfortunately commerce and industry declined. Abuses in the management of the finances were responsible, in part, for an increase in the national debt. In order to perpetuate his power, Santos promoted the candidacy of Dr. Vidal for the presidency. Vidal's election in the presidential campaign of 1886 precipitated a revolt which was soon quelled and, after the resignation of Vidal, on May 24 General Santos—who was president of the Senate—again became chief magistrate. After an attempt was made to assassinate him, Santos relinquished his post, and General Máximo Tajes was elected President to fill out the unexpired term. The next President was a well-known lawyer, Julio Herrera y Obes, who strove to avert a

panic and to prevent uprisings. His very arbitrariness perhaps helps to explain why he enjoys the distinction of being the first President of Uruguay who saw his constitutional term end without being compelled to fight against armed insurrectionists.

The "Nationalistic" Revolt of 1897: President Cuestas.

—Juan I. Borda, who became president in March, 1894, was not so fortunate. Three years later, the so-called "Nationalistic Revolution," which was supported by *Blanco* leaders, broke out. After several sanguinary conflicts had taken place between government soldiers and insurrectionary forces, on August 25, 1897, while reviewing his troops in the capital city, Borda was shot in the heart. He was succeeded by Juan L. Cuestas as Provisional President. On September 18, 1897, a pact of reconciliation was signed at Montevideo by commissioners of the government and agents of the malcontents. By that compact the members of the National party agreed to lay down their arms. As Congress opposed the candidacy of Cuestas for the presidency, on February 10, 1898, he arbitrarily dissolved it and, with the title of Provisional President, held supreme power for one year longer. On March 1, 1889, a new Congress elected him Constitutional President. His last term was marked by the beginning of operations by a French company for the improvement of the harbor of Montevideo. In religious matters, however, Cuestas was intolerant. Although the Constitution declared that Roman Catholicism should be the religion of the state, yet he placed restrictions upon its exercise and even tried to prevent the ingress of priests and friars. His religious policy has been ascribed to masonic influence.

Another "Nationalistic" Revolt under President Batle y Ordóñez.—Upon the eve of the election of 1908, José Batle y Ordóñez, a progressive candidate for the presidency, issued a manifesto declaring that, if elected, he intended to keep in mind the material and moral interests of the nation, regulating his actions by constitutional precedents. Soon after his inauguration, however, the Nationalists rose against the government, but armed strife was temporarily averted by mediation, and an agreement was reached resembling the settlement with Aparicio in 1872. This adjustment was little more

than a truce between contending factions: a revolt occurred in 1904 that lasted almost nine months. After a battle at Masoller which resulted in the death of the rebel chieftain Aparicio Saravia, on September 24, 1904, a peace was signed at Aceguá. That agreement provided for a general amnesty; for the supervision of elections by party committees; and for the recognition of the existing government by the rebels. Further, they were to lay down their arms and to give up their fortified towns; and a mixed commission was to distribute one hundred thousand pesos among the civil and military leaders of the insurrection. After sanguinary struggles that lasted three-quarters of a century, it seemed as though the political feuds which had been provoked during the revolutionary epoch had been extinguished.

Reforms under President Williman.—The administration of Claudio Williman, a leader of the *Colorado* party who was inaugurated on March 1, 1907, was signalized by significant reforms. He soon issued a decree reorganizing the cabinet. A supreme court was established. Intendants and subintendants were created to aid in the administration of the departments. The moles in the harbor of Montevideo were completed. Capital punishment was abolished. A statute was enacted which permitted absolute divorce. An organic law for the University of Montevideo was sanctioned. Another law established a national institute for the deaf and dumb. So carefully did President Williman husband the nation's revenues that he left in the treasury an unprecedented surplus of nine million pesos.

Social Welfare Legislation.—On March 1, 1911, Batle y Ordóñez became President for the second time. Notable among plans that were formed for public improvements was a project for a splendid capitol which should be in the midst of new streets and plazas. Political persecutions ceased, freedom of the press was observed, and significant reforms were enacted. The government began a serious study of the social welfare of its citizens. Experts from foreign lands were employed to investigate Uruguay's problems. The secretary of finance directed that statistics should be collected about wages, the cost of living, and the demand and supply of labor. Seeds and agricultural implements were exempted from import

duties. A tax was levied upon useless expenditures in jewelry. In July, 1914, Congress even discussed a bill granting full political rights to women. After his inauguration in 1915, President Viera announced his intention to follow the policies of his predecessor. He sanctioned various bills that aimed to promote the social welfare of Uruguayans. Among those was an act establishing an eight-hour day, a law containing regulations designed to prevent accidents to workingmen, a law providing for industrial education in primary and secondary schools, a law concerning old-age pensions, a law providing for a national inheritance tax, and another law that established government control of telegraph and telephone lines.

Conditions on the Eve of the World War: Immigration and Population.—The stream of immigration to Montevideo has resembled that to Buenos Aires. In 1875 Uruguay had a population of less than half a million: in 1914 the population had trebled. A Uruguayan writer has calculated that in a total population of about one million in 1908, the foreigners numbered about 180,000: of these Italians composed about 35 per cent; Spaniards, 30 per cent; Brazilians, 15 per cent; Argentine citizens, 10 per cent; and French, 5 per cent; while the remainder belonged to other nationalities. As the aboriginal race in Uruguay was largely exterminated, and as negroes are found mainly along the Brazilian frontiers, the basic element in her population is still Spanish. Immigrants have been assimilated in the Uruguayan population with comparative ease. Children born of foreign parents in Montevideo often pride themselves upon their Uruguayan citizenship.

Occupations and Products.—The two chief occupations of the Uruguayan people are agriculture and stock raising. Their rich soil sustains a varied agriculture. In the north the main crops are tobacco, peanuts, and grapes, while in the south, wheat, corn, oats, flax, and barley are the most important products. According to the census of 1908, there roamed over the plains of Uruguay some 3,600,000 cattle, almost 2,000,000 sheep, and more than 500,000 horses. In that year over 600,000 beef cattle were slaughtered. Uruguayan factories are mainly dependent upon agriculture and cattle raising. The chief manufactures are wine, butter, leather, flour, macaroni, and preserved meat. In 1914 almost 90 per cent of Uruguay's

exports were products of pastoral and related industries. Many Uruguayans are engaged in mercantile affairs, especially in Montevideo. Uruguay's exports in 1914 were officially valued as follows: products of pastoral industry, 48,000,000 pesos; products of agriculture, 1,351,000; products of mining, 2,031,000; products of fishing and hunting, 157,000; and other exports, 100,000. These values are in the Uruguayan gold peso, which is generally worth a little more than a United States dollar.

National Debt.—The national debt of Uruguay—which in 1860 amounted to 2,726,000 pesos—in 1914 reached a total of 141,144,000 pesos. This debt was incurred at various times largely to fund preëxisting debts, to promote public works, and to obtain capital for banks. It was secured by the hypothecation of the customs revenues of the republic. A loan of 1896 which was issued to obtain capital for the bank of the republic was secured by 5.5 per cent of the customs revenues; a loan made in 1905 to get gold for the redemption of paper money was secured by 24 per cent of those revenues; and the consolidated debt floated to unify certain loans and to furnish guaranties to railway companies was secured by 45 per cent of the same revenues.

Transportation.—In comparison with many other Latin-American countries the republic of Uruguay is well supplied with transportation facilities. At Montevideo most of the steamship lines plying to Buenos Aires stop with considerable regularity. As it is only a one-night trip by water from Montevideo to the Argentine capital, Uruguayans can make good connections with side-wheel steamers plying up the Paraná and its tributaries. From 1869—when the first Uruguayan railway between Montevideo and Piedras was opened to traffic—to 1914, over 1,500 miles of railway were constructed in Uruguay. The chief cities of the republic have thus been linked with the metropolis.

Army and Navy.—In 1914 the commander in chief of the Uruguayan army was the secretary of war and the navy. Uruguay's soldiery was mainly composed of a standing army and of reserves that constituted a national guard. The nation's standing army was made up of recruits and volunteers. Men from seventeen to forty who enrolled under the Uruguayan

flag were compelled to serve in the army at least one year. The total strength of the standing army amounted to some ten thousand men, including five generals and about eighty other officers. Uruguay's national guard was recruited from citizens between seventeen and forty-five years of age. It was composed of the mobile national guard which, with the standing army, might constitute an army of operations; the departmental national guard which might be incorporated with the army of operations; and the passive national guard which was assigned duty in fortified towns or cities where its members resided. Under the secretary of war the chief officer of the Uruguayan naval forces was the commander of the navy, who was captain general of the ports. His chief function was to guard the seacoast. Uruguay's navy was composed of a few cruisers for coast defense and some smaller vessels.

Education.—The foundations of the existing educational system of Uruguay were laid by Dictator Latorre. In 1877 he issued a decree that placed public education under the direction of a national board of public instruction which was to superintend primary instruction, to administer normal schools, to appoint teachers, to organize libraries, and to grant teachers' certificates. At the capital of each department should be a local board of primary instruction. All public instruction—which should be compulsory and supported by the State—was to be under the control of the central government. Provision was also made for a national inspector of public instruction. Latorre's decree was supplemented by laws which distinguish Uruguay as one of the most progressive of the Latin-American states in educational legislation. A law of 1907 made provision for evening schools for adults. Special attention has been paid to the establishment of schools in rural districts. In or about Montevideo are located normal schools, a commercial school, a national school of arts and trades, and a national school of agriculture. At Montevideo is located a university with colleges of law and social sciences, medicine, and mathematics.

Literature.—At many points the literature of Uruguay resembles that of Argentina. Her poets and novelists have written of the relations between the Indians and Spaniards, of the adventurous life and daring deeds of the *gaucho*, as well as

of the evils of high society. Acevedo Díaz's romance *Ismael* suggests the rôle of the half-breed in the formation of Uruguayan society. Zorilla de San Martín's *Tabaré* is a poem descriptive of the love of a half-breed Charruan Indian for a Spanish maiden. Among other productions Alejandro Magarinos Cervantes wrote a poetic novel entitled *Celiar*, which depicted life during the colonial régime. Exclusive of Zorilla de San Martín—who has composed a prose epic on José Artigas—among historical writers Francisco Bauzá, author of the *Historia de la dominación española en el Uruguay*, and Luis Acevedo, who has written an erudite commentary upon the documents concerning Artigas, are perhaps the most important. One name only may be mentioned from the list of critical writers: José Enrique Rodó, the brilliant philosophical essayist—author of "the intellectual breviary" called *Ariel*.

Art.—First in the list of Uruguayan artists is the name of Juan M. Blanes. He drew a vivid picture of the visitation of Buenos Aires by the yellow fever. Uruguayan heroes he depicted in *Artigas en 1810* and the *Juramento de los Treinta y Tres*. His son, Nicanor Blanes, modeled two remarkable statues of aborigines of the pampas. Some sculptures and historical paintings by Uruguayan artists are exhibited in a modest structure at Montevideo which forms the National Museum of Fine Arts.

Uruguay and the World War.—After the outbreak of the World War, the Congress of Uruguay established a food control board which was authorized to fix prices upon articles of prime necessity. Although less threatened than her great southern neighbor by the depredations of Germany upon the high sea, yet Uruguay took a positive attitude. In reply to the announcement of the United States government that war existed between it and the Imperial German Government, Baltasar Brum, the Uruguayan secretary of foreign relations, declared that his government protested against Germany's submarine policy, that, while determined to maintain her neutrality, yet his nation expressed her "sympathy and moral solidarity" with the United States cause. After news reached Montevideo that the Uruguayan ship "Rosario" had been sunk by a German torpedo, President Viera published a remarkable decree announcing the decision of his cabinet that no American

nation which was forced into a war "with nations of other continents" in defense of her own rights would be considered by Uruguay as a belligerent. On October 7, 1917, in secret session both houses of the Uruguayan Congress voted by overwhelming majorities that diplomatic relations with Germany should be severed. Upon the same day the President accordingly issued a decree which declared that his government had severed diplomatic and commercial intercourse between Uruguay and Germany. Soon afterwards, the government revoked the decrees that had proclaimed with regard to England and her Allies the observance by Uruguay of a state of neutrality in the World war.

Constitutional Reform.—After considerable discussion about constitutional reform, both inside and outside of legislative halls, a Congress assembled at Montevideo for the express purpose of revising the Constitution. On October 15, 1917, it adopted a new Constitution. This went into effect on March 1, 1919—the very day on which Baltasar Brum was inaugurated president.

The Present Uruguayan Constitution.—Uruguay's second Constitution preserved many features of the centralized form of government established in 1830. The chief administrative unit remained the department. We shall notice here some of the chief innovations of the Constitution of 1917. It provides that the President shall be chosen by direct popular vote. Instead of a permanent committee of Congress it provides for a national council of administration, which is composed of nine members chosen by the people to serve for six years. The council is granted jurisdiction over all administrative matters which are not expressly reserved to the President or to other authorities, such as public instruction, public works, labor, agriculture, charities, and sanitation. It is to prepare the budget, as well as to supervise elections. It may require the opinion of the President about legislative proposals regarding fiscal and currency matters and international commerce. It may authorize its members to participate in the deliberations of Congress without the right to vote. The same privilege is conceded to "ministers of state," who shall be appointed by the national council; but whose duties are not clearly differentiated from the duties of members of the President's cabinet.

[Local government is vested in representative assemblies and in autonomous administrative councils elected in the departments by popular vote.] More than a score of articles are concerned with the rights and guaranties of citizens. Article CXXV provides that whosoever may violate the Constitution shall be adjudged guilty of *lesa nación*.

Summary.—One of the small states of South America, certain pages in the history of Uruguay reflect the story of her origin—she was a buffer state between Argentina and Brazil. Essentially a pampean land, her industrial life seems destined to develop for a time mainly in channels similar to those of central Argentina. Until recent decades Uruguay's political waters have been more troubled than those of her great Latin-American neighbors. The party that was unsuccessful at the Uruguayan ballot box has frequently appealed to the sword to secure at least a share of the spoils of office. Occasionally a dissentient party has secured a portion of the spoils by an arrangement with the rival faction which was curiously like a treaty between belligerent nations. At present, however, the citizens of Uruguay seem to have settled down to a life that is industrious, meticulously regulated, and vehemently patriotic. Uruguayans are richly endowed with the aspiring spirit—so noticeable in Buenos Aires—that plans magnificent structures without sufficiently reckoning about the means with which to complete them. The citizens of Montevideo, although in large part drawn from other nations than Spain, have yet erected their civilization upon a basis that is mainly Spanish. They are very receptive, alert to utilize progressive ideas, and—especially since the age of Valera the educator—inclined to adopt new ideas and vogues in education. Recent tendencies in the life of this republic indeed show that she is engaged in interesting essays in political, economic, and social reform. Uruguay has become a vast laboratory of social and political experimentation.

CHAPTER X

PARAGUAY

Origin of Paraguay.—The state of Paraguay was formed in a region which in the seventeenth century had been styled the province of Guairá or Paraguay. A portion of that “gigantic province” was later made an intendency of the viceroyalty of la Plata. When leaders in Asunción decided to separate from Spain they made a convention with agents of the junta in Buenos Aires regulating commercial relations between Asunción and Buenos Aires, providing that the province of Paraguay would be considered as independent of the province of Buenos Aires, and declaring that, until the limits of Paraguay should be definitely demarcated, it was to include “the department of Candelaria” on the left bank of the Paraná River. For some years, however, the new state remained in a nebulous form.

Francia as Dictator.—After 1816, when Francia was made perpetual dictator of Paraguay, he became increasingly despotic. Evidently he was convinced that the Paraguayans were not ready for self-government. European visitors who ventured into his dominions described him as endowed with remarkable ability but vain, ambitious, and cruel. As the Dictator became obsessed with the notion that his subjects were constantly conspiring against him, his capital city became a veritable whispering gallery. Paraguayans who were suspected of disaffection toward the supreme ruler were summarily imprisoned, manacled, and tortured. Occasionally they were exiled from their homes or executed in a shocking manner under the windows of Francia’s palace. In a mood of fearful adoration the people called him *El Supremo*.

The Rule of El Supremo.—Although ordinarily aided by a secretary who acted as a species of minister, for the most part Francia’s mode of government was personal. Chief

executive, chief legislator, and supreme judge of the nation, *El Supremo* also made himself the head of the Paraguayan Church. In 1830 he abolished the tithes. A lover of South American independence, he levied forced contributions upon the Spaniards in Paraguay, and generously gave an asylum to Artigas. He soon adopted a policy by which his country was secluded from the world, both commercially and politically. A special license was even required to emigrate from Paraguay. The roving French botanist, Aimé Bonpland, was virtually kept a prisoner there for many years. As very few articles might legally be imported into Paraguay, her people were forced to manufacture furniture, leather goods, and coarse cotton cloth. In this and in other ways Francia gave a stimulus to industry. Upon receipt of a note from Simón Bolívar asking him to abandon his policy of isolation, Francia haughtily replied that Paraguay would not abandon that policy so long as he remained at the head of her government. On September 20, 1840—just after a terrible storm had burst over Asunción—the Dictator died. In some particulars he may serve as the type of a benevolent despot of Latin America.

The Two Consuls.—As Francia had made no disposition about a successor to his power, the government of Paraguay soon passed into the hands of a military junta. On March 12, 1841, a Congress at Asunción decided to vest executive authority in the hands of two consuls who should serve for three years. Of those rulers the rising man was Carlos A. López, a lawyer with considerable ability, who had been living in seclusion. The consuls soon initiated important reforms. Among other measures, they promoted commercial relations with neighboring states, founded a literary academy at Asunción, reorganized the judicial system, and provided for the gradual extinction of negro slavery.

Formal Declaration of Paraguay's Independence.—At the instance of the consuls, an extraordinary Congress of four hundred deputies met at Asunción in 1842. On November 25 the deputies signed a formal act stating that Paraguayan independence had been a solemn and incontestable fact for more than thirty years. Categorically they declared that the Republic of Paraguay was by fact and right a nation free and independent of all foreign powers, that she would never be-

come the patrimony of any person or of any family, and that all civil, ecclesiastical, and military officials should before assuming office, take an oath to defend the independence and integrity of the republic. This declaration was to be made known throughout Paraguay and to the adjacent nations. Upon the same day Congress enacted a law sanctioning the use of the flag and the seal employed by Francia, which bore the inscription the "Republic of Paraguay." A few days later Congress passed a decree announcing that on December 25, 1842, all officials of the government should solemnly swear to maintain Paraguay's independence and territorial integrity.

Carlos López Becomes President.—In 1844 the Congress of Paraguay assembled again. To that Congress the consuls made a report concerning their activities. They also submitted the project of a law which organized the administration of the republic of Paraguay. On March 13, 1844, Congress approved the project which made provision for three departments of government and vested large powers in a President, who should hold office for ten years. Upon the following day Congress acclaimed López as president.

Independence Acknowledged, Boundaries.—During the next decade several nations of America and Europe acknowledged Paraguay's independence. The United States sent a bustling agent named Edward Hopkins to Asunción to investigate and to report. In 1852 that government recognized Paraguay. Argentina, whose publicists had entertained hopes of incorporating Paraguay within their state, recognized her independence after the battle of Caseros. Negotiations to fix upon the boundaries of independent Paraguay were only partly successful. Although a treaty was signed between diplomats of Argentina and Paraguay at Asunción on July 15, 1852, which stipulated that the boundary line between the parties should be the rivers Paraná and Bermejo, and that a narrow strip along the right bank of the Paraguay River between the mouth of the Bermejo River and the river Atajo should be neutral territory. As the convention was not ratified by the legislature of the Argentine Confederation, Paraguay continued to claim and to exercise jurisdiction over a portion of the *misiones* territory which stretched along the left bank of the Paraná from the Iguassú River to Candelaria.

Attempts by Paraguay to determine by treaty her boundaries with Brazil to the east of the Paraguay River failed, and the expanding Empire continued to assert a claim to territory south of the Río Blanco. To the west of the river Paraguay, however, Brazil recognized that the northern boundary of the republic was the Río Negro.

Foreign Complications.—In 1854 the Paraguayan Congress reelected López, but, at his request, it limited his term of office to three years. After that term had expired, the Dictator changed his mind and was again reelected. Between 1857 and 1862 various disputes arose between Paraguay and foreign powers. With the United States there occurred a complicated controversy which arose chiefly because of the colonizing and mercantile activities of Hopkins who had been driven out of Paraguay by the Dictator. This was complicated by a dispute concerning the "Water Witch," a United States vessel engaged in making a scientific exploration of South American rivers which was fired upon by Paraguayan gunners when entering the Upper Paraná River. With France difficulties arose because of the treatment accorded to Frenchmen that had been induced to immigrate to Paraguay as the result of a mission to Europe of the Dictator's eldest son, Francisco S. López. With England a dispute took place because of the imprisonment by Paraguayan authorities of an English citizen named James Canstatt who was accused of being implicated in a conspiracy directed against the life of the Dictator. Although upon more than one occasion those acrimonious disputes seemed to bring Paraguay to the verge of war, yet at last they were all settled peacefully.

Accession of the Younger López.—Dictator López died on September 10, 1862. About a month later Congress elected Francisco Solano López as President of the state for ten years. Under the López dynasty the administration of Paraguay was still marked by some of the traits of the régime of Francia. Shortly after the accession of the younger López, the Brazilian minister at Asunción stated that espionage prevailed there to so great an extent that even the servants of foreign diplomats were compelled clandestinely to divulge to the police whatever took place within the legations. He

asserted that any person who made the least criticism of the government was doomed to end his life in a dungeon. Either because of a passion for military prestige, or because of suspicions about the designs of one or more neighboring nations, the younger López soon undertook to improve Paraguay's military establishment. Forts were built at strategic points along the limitary rivers, rude barracks were constructed, and thousands of Paraguayans were placed under arms. In September, 1864, the Brazilian minister at Asunción informed his government that some of the Paraguayans considered a foreign war as the only event that would relieve Paraguay from the "tyrannical régime" of Dictator López.

Origins of the Paraguayan War.—The "Paraguayan War," as it is often designated, was the outcome of a complex and strained international situation. Paraguay's boundaries with Argentina and Brazil were still unsettled. Dictator López was suspected of harboring the ambition to become the Napoleon of South America. Fair-minded Brazilians have suggested that Pedro II may have invited a foreign war in order to draw attention from domestic problems. In any case, it is clear that complications with the Brazilian Empire—with which Paraguay had been on strained relations for some time—furnished an occasion for war.

López Makes War on Brazil and Argentina.—As indicated in the preceding chapter, to atone for injuries which Brazilian subjects had suffered in the civil wars of Uruguay, the Imperial government announced that it would make military reprisals on the Uruguayan frontiers. On August 30, 1864, the Paraguayan government, which evidently favored the *Blanco* régime in Uruguay, protested vehemently against this announcement and declared that it would consider the occupation of Uruguayan soil by foreign soldiers as an attack upon the political equilibrium of the nations of la Plata basin. In consequence of the movement of Brazilian soldiers against the Uruguayan frontier, on November 12, President López notified the Imperial government that diplomatic relations between Paraguay and Brazil were ruptured; further, he prohibited Brazilian vessels from navigating Paraguayan rivers. Soon afterwards a Paraguayan gunboat captured a Brazilian mail boat which had passed Asunción on its way to

Matto Grosso. In December, 1864, López dispatched a military expedition from Asunción against that province. The Dictator then asked President Mitre for permission to march his soldiers across the Argentine province of Corrientes in order to attack the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul. Mitre declined to grant that request. In response to a message from the Dictator, the Paraguayan Congress passed a law on March 18, 1865, which approved his measures of war against Brazil. That Congress also imprudently declared war upon Argentina. López's note communicating this decision was apparently not received by the Argentine secretary of foreign relations until May 3. In the port of Corrientes on April 13 Paraguayan gunboats seized two Argentine vessels. Paraguayan soldiers invaded Rio Grande do Sul and occupied Uruguayana. The domineering ambition of Paraguay's chief magistrate had far overleaped the bounds of sane policy.

The Secret Tripartite Treaty.—Upon the other side, the Brazilian Emperor's policy had won favor. When Mitre began to negotiate with Flores for joint action against Paraguay, the Uruguayan Dictator declared that he could not enter an alliance against Paraguay unless Brazil became a party. The upshot was that on May 1, 1865, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil signed a secret treaty which arranged a defensive and offensive alliance against Paraguay. The allies agreed that the chief command of their military forces should be given to General Mitre, while their naval operations should be directed by Admiral Tamandaré. The allies pledged themselves not to lay down their arms except by common agreement after the existing Paraguayan government had been overthrown. They expressly declared that the war was not undertaken against the people of Paraguay but against the Paraguayan government. They agreed to guarantee the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Paraguay. After the completion of the war the Paraguayan people should be permitted to establish their own governmental institutions. The free navigation of the Paraná and the Paraguay Rivers should be assured. Paraguay was to bear the cost of the war as well as the ensuing indemnities.

Its Territorial Provisions.—Article XVI sketched the boundaries of Paraguay so as to suit Argentina and Brazil.

The boundary between Brazil and Paraguay should be the Paraná River to a stream on the right bank that was called the Igurey River, from its sources the boundary should proceed along the peaks of the cordillera of Maracayú to the sources of the river Apa, and then down that stream to the Paraguay River. The boundary between Argentina and Paraguay on the east should be the river Paraná up to the Brazilian frontiers; that is to say, to the mouth of the Iguassú River upon the right bank of the Paraná; and as far north as Bahía Negra. This secret treaty would have deprived Paraguay of about one-half of the territory over which she claimed jurisdiction. After its publication by the English government, the territorial provisions of the Tripartite Treaty evoked protests from Spanish-American nations!

Course of the War.—Both Emperor Pedro and President Mitre expected that the war would be of short duration. In spite of the great numerical disparity between the belligerent powers, however, the Paraguayan War lasted about five years. Soon after the Tripartite Treaty was signed, Brazil sent warships up the Paraná River. On June 11, 1865, that fleet dispersed a Paraguayan squadron near Corrientes. The Argentine-Uruguayan army defeated Paraguayan soldiers on the banks of the Yatay River; then that army besieged Uruguayana and compelled the Paraguayan commander to capitulate. After those defeats López skillfully withdrew his soldiers within the boundaries of Paraguay and confined himself to defensive warfare. In April, 1866, the allied soldiers forded the Paraná River by the *paso de la patria*. On May 24, 1866, the allies defeated the Paraguayans in a bloody battle at Tuyutí; but on September 22 the Paraguayans checked the allies at Curupaití. It was the beginning of 1866 before the allied fleet succeeded in passing an important fort which guarded the Paraguayan frontiers at Huamitá. The allies then besieged that fort, which fell on August 15, 1868. After other sanguinary conflicts with the brave soldiers of Paraguay, early in January, 1869, the allied army occupied Asunción. Driven from one refuge to another, deserted by some of his remaining followers, but refusing to surrender, López was overtaken by Brazilian soldiers and shot near the banks of the Aquidaban River on March 1, 1870. Apparently

the Dictator died in the conviction that the Paraguayan nation perished with him.

Its Results.—This war was significant to all participants. It destroyed a large portion of the male population of Paraguay, caused the death of many citizens of the allied nations, and brought Brazilians into contact with the citizens of republics. It drained the treasuries of the belligerents. In accordance with the Tripartite Treaty, Argentina and Brazil attempted to saddle Paraguay with a huge war debt. The "Paraguayan War" ended the rule of the López dynasty and prepared the way for constitutional government in the hermit state. Six years passed away after the death of López, however, before the last detachment of Argentine and Brazilian soldiers departed from Paraguayan soil.

The Interregnum.—Meantime a provisional government, that had been formed from Paraguayans living in the conquered territory and from a Paraguayan legion which had fought with the invaders, had established a governmental junta under the auspices of the allies. In October, 1869, at the instance of the Brazilian military commander, the junta issued a decree which announced that all slaves upon Paraguayan soil were free. On June 2, 1870, the allies signed a treaty of peace with this provisional government. Soon afterwards the junta convoked a Constituent Assembly which met in August, 1870, in the hall of the *cabildo* at Asunción. A committee of five men, headed by Juan Silvano Godoi—who had been educated at a college at Santa Fé, Argentina—was selected to frame a constitution. On November 25, 1870, the Assembly promulgated a Constitution for Paraguay which declared a dictatorship to be unlawful.

Guaranties in the Paraguayan Constitution of 1870.—In some particulars the Paraguayan Constitution of 1870 resembled the Argentine Constitution. Paraguay should be free; her government should be republican; and her religion should be Roman Catholicism. Among the guaranties that formed a bill of rights was an article which provided that Paraguayans should be allowed to profess their own religion, to publish their ideas in the press, and to petition the government. Torture of all kinds was abolished. Upon touching Paraguayan soil slaves should become free.

The National Government.—The executive authority was vested in a President, a Vice-President, a cabinet, and a permanent committee. After the first election—when the chief executive magistrates were to be selected by the Constitutional Assembly—the President and Vice-President should be chosen by electors. The President should be the commander in chief of the army and navy as well as the chief administrator of the state. He might veto acts of Congress. With the consent of Congress, he might refuse to admit Papal rescripts and might negotiate treaties, declare war, or make peace. Five secretaries, appointed by the President, should form his cabinet. They might attend Congress, and take part in its debates; but they could not vote. An executive committee composed of six congressmen was to be in session during the recess of Congress. It should watch over the faithful execution of the laws; it should receive the certificates of congressional elections, and might summon cabinet members to ask for information. The legislature was bicameral. The Chamber of Deputies was to be made up of members chosen by direct vote from election districts. The Senate was to be composed of members elected by direct vote at the ratio of one member for every twelve thousand inhabitants. It was given the exclusive power to impeach high federal officials. More than a score of powers were specifically granted to the houses of Congress acting jointly. Besides the power to levy direct taxes and to establish a national bank, Congress was given the right to accept or reject the resignation of the President and the Vice-President and the authority to permit foreign soldiers to enter the territory of the republic. The judiciary should be composed of a supreme court of three judges, and of as many inferior courts as might be established by law. The supreme court should have the right to decide conflicts of jurisdiction that might arise between inferior courts or between such courts and national tribunals.

Local Government.—The Constitution contained no provisions about local government. Subsequently, however, the republic was divided into districts which somewhat resembled Uruguayan departments. Thus the Paraguayan Constitution of 1870, which is still in force, furnished the basis

for a centralistic government. In certain features, however, it was evidently patterned after the United States Constitution.

Bounds of the New Paraguay.—Cirilio A. Rivarola was elected president. A difficult problem which confronted the new government was the adjustment of Paraguay's frontiers. Brazilian publicists viewed with trepidation the prospective acquisition by Argentina of the extensive territories promised by the Tripartite Treaty. Just before the end of the war the Paraguayan provisional government had made a treaty with Brazil and Argentina regarding boundaries. This treaty stated that Paraguay should be free to urge the bounds which she thought consistent with her rights. At this time the Argentine plenipotentiary declared that his government intended to occupy Villa Occidental not by the exercise of a conqueror's rights but to promote an amicable adjustment, and the Brazilian plenipotentiary stated that his nation would insist upon her rights. Soon after the war terminated, while insisting upon her rights as a conqueror, Brazil agreed to support Paraguay in her opposition to the cession of Villa Occidental. On January 9, 1872, diplomats of Brazil and Paraguay signed a treaty by which the Empire was conceded a clear title to territory north of the Río Apa that she had been promised in 1865. Encouraged by Brazil's attitude, Paraguay persisted in her opposition to Argentina's demands. During the administration of President Gill of Paraguay, on February 3, 1876, that government signed a treaty with Argentina which provided for the adjustment of boundaries. The treaty stipulated that Argentina should have a clear title to the region of the *missiones* upon the left bank of the Paraná River, that Argentina should be conceded territory upon the right bank of the Paraguay between the Bermejo River and the Pilcomayo River, that she should relinquish her claim to territory between Bahía Negra and the Río Verde, and that the title to the region between the rivers Verde and Pilcomayo—including Villa Occidental—should be submitted to the arbitration of the United States President. On November 12, 1878, after considering the arguments and the evidence submitted by the contending parties, President Hayes decided that Paraguay was justly entitled to the territory between the



MAP SHOWING TERRITORIES RELINQUISHED BY PARAGUAY TO ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL AFTER THE WAR OF 1864-1870.

Pilcomayo and the Verde Rivers. Still, it has been estimated that, as a result of the war, Paraguay lost about fifty-five thousand square miles of territory to which she claimed title.

Relations with Bolivia.—In the meantime, basing their argument upon the ground that the *audiencia* of Charcas had exercised jurisdiction over the right bank of the Paraguay River, publicists of Bolivia had preferred a claim to the very territory which Brazilian diplomacy had aided Paraguay to rescue from Argentina. After the arbitral award of President Hayes, Bolivia sought a settlement with Paraguay. She dispatched Antonio Quijarro to Asunción where, on October 15, 1879, he signed a treaty with José S. Decoud, secretary of foreign relations for President Cándido Bareiro. By the treaty Paraguay agreed to concede to Bolivia a strip of territory upon the Paraguay River between Bahía Negra and the mouth of the river Apa. But this treaty was not ratified by both parties. Subsequent negotiations for a settlement of the dispute along similar lines failed; and the Bolivian government undertook to find evidence in the Spanish archives to support its claim to the Chaco.

With Spain.—Paraguay's diplomacy with Spain was more fruitful. On September 10, 1880, the *chargé d'affaires* of Paraguay at Buenos Aires and the Spanish envoy at that city signed a treaty by which Spain acknowledged Paraguayan independence.

Politics since the War.—The political history of Paraguay since her war with the allies has at times been deeply affected by its issues and results. Her first President soon resigned because of differences with Congress and was succeeded by the Vice-President—this was a prelude to Paraguay's subsequent history. Presidents or vice-presidents—who succeeded presidents after their resignation or deposition—sometimes followed each other in rapid succession. Parties, which originated from the cliques that sided for or against López in the war, rent the country by their dissensions. The policy which Paraguay should follow toward one or another of her antagonists in that struggle has often been a crucial problem in her politics and diplomacy. During most of the period that elapsed between the adoption of her present Constitution and the opening of the nineteenth century, the

Colorado or Radical Party controlled the national government. It does not appear that the *Colorados* had any well-defined principles, except to remain in power. Several presidents who were elected during that period did not serve out their terms of office: either they were induced to resign, or they were deposed, or they were assassinated. Frequently the military element played an important rôle in Paraguayan political life. At times the movements by which presidents were removed from power were bloodless; at other times the uprisings were barrack insurrections. Occasionally Paraguayan revolutions partook of the burlesque.

Party Struggles in the Early Twentieth Century.—In 1902 a struggle took place between factions of the *Colorado* party. As President Aceval opposed the candidacy of his secretary of the interior for the presidency, certain military leaders thrust Aceval into a dungeon and even fired upon the national Congress which was deliberating about his enforced resignation. Eventually the Vice-President was made Acting President; in October the secretary of war Juan Ecurra was elected president. Ecurra was inaugurated in November, 1902. In August, 1904, an insurrection led by a group called the *Azules* or *Cívicos* took place. Martial law was proclaimed, the insurrectionists gained control of the Paraguay River, and the government forces were defeated. An agreement was patched up between the contending groups which stipulated that a new president should be elected, that the *Cívicos* should be accorded a majority of the members of the next cabinet, that a new army should be organized, and that an amnesty should be conceded to all political offenders. The leader of this revolution was Benigno Ferreira, who soon became president. Tranquillity was soon upset by a revolt led by Colonel Albino Jara, who posed as chief of the Liberal-Radical party. Revolutionists bombarded the "palace of government." With a small following, the President took refuge in the basement of that palace, while some members of his cabinet fled to the railroad station. Many citizens were killed in the streets of the capital city. Through the mediation of the diplomatic corps—as the revolutionists promised to save his life—President Ferreira was induced to resign; and Vice-President Emiliano Naveiro then became chief magi-

strate. In 1910 his secretary of foreign relations, Manuel Gondra, a cultured member of the Liberal-Radicals, was elected president.

Frequent "Alterations of the Legal Order."—Manuel Gondra was inaugurated in December, 1910. The four years that followed were among the stormiest in Paraguay's history. By a sudden coup in January, 1911, Colonel Jara, acting secretary of war, induced President Gondra to resign in order to avoid bloodshed. A rump Congress promptly elected Jara president. In July insurrections broke out in various districts distant from the capital. At last Jara's position became untenable and he resigned: Congress elected Liberto Rojas as his successor. Because of the strife which continued between Jara's partisans and leaders of the Liberal-Radical party, political conditions remained chaotic and there were rapid changes in the presidency. In April, 1912, Jara emerged at the head of a fresh revolt in southern Paraguay. He was mortally wounded, however, in a bloody engagement at Paraguari, and on July 19, Eduardo Schaerer, a Liberal-Radical of Teutonic descent, was elected president.

Progress under President Schaerer.—With the inauguration of Schaerer, who became president on August 15, 1912, "alterations of the legal order"—as a Paraguayan writer has designated revolutions—became less frequent. A revolt led by the secretary of war soon collapsed. A survey of public lands was undertaken by the national government. At the instance of the President, a homestead law was enacted which promised a strip of land to each applicant who would agree to till the soil and build a home. By law the capital of the *Banco Agrícola*, which had been created to promote agriculture and industry, was considerably increased. A few wireless stations were erected. The Central Paraguayan Railroad Company initiated a ferryboat service from Encarnación across the Paraná to Posadas: this linked Paraguayan railroads to the railway system of Argentina. A United States firm was employed to improve the harbor at Asunción. Measures were taken to encourage immigration, as by the construction of a hotel for immigrants.

Conditions on the Eve of the World War: Population and Language.—Before the outbreak of the World War,

attempts of the government to encourage immigration to Paraguay had not met with much success. A careful Paraguayan scholar has estimated that the population of his country in 1905 was about 700,000. Of these inhabitants perhaps 20,000 were foreigners. Statistics computed a few years earlier indicated that one-half of the aliens were citizens of Argentina: numerically subjects of Italy, Brazil, Germany, and Spain followed in that order. The relatively small foreign immigration aided Paraguay to maintain a distinct national type—the result, in most cases, of the mingling of Spaniards and Guaraníes. The Spanish language was taught in the schools, while Guaraní was used by the common people, and Paraguayan municipal records were still kept in that language. Upon the frontiers the uncivilized Indians spoke their own dialects. A small army had been trained by Prussian officers.

Economic Condition.—Paraguay has remained an agricultural and pastoral country. Cattle, sheep, horses, and goats browse upon her rich, grassy plains: hides are an important export. Crude rubber, tobacco, cotton, oranges, Paraguayan tea, and timber are her main agricultural products. Cigars, cigarettes, tannin, sole leather, and ñandutí lace are her chief manufactures. Her slow development has been retarded by her location far from the seaboard. Until recently the only mode of communication between Paraguay and the outside world was the Paraguay River, which is navigable by vessels of light draught up to Asunción. The first railroad in Paraguay, opened between Asunción and Paraguairí in 1861, was later extended to Encarnación.

Finances.—The starting point for a consideration of Paraguay's fiscal condition is the Paraguayan War. The Tripartite Treaty provided that Paraguay should pay the expense of her own subjugation. With the accumulated interest that war indemnity would amount to a large sum; but its payment has not been pressed either by Argentina or by Brazil. Aside from that indebtedness—which might be considered as outlawed—the Paraguayan government incurred in London in 1870 and 1871 a loan which amounted to three million pounds. On behalf of her national bank Paraguay subsequently made loans from banks in the city of Buenos Aires. She also accumulated a considerable internal debt. A Para-

guayan author estimated in 1915 that his country's foreign debt, arising from loans contracted in London, aggregated 3,370,418 pesos of gold. The Paraguayan government has frequently been greatly embarrassed because of its inconvertible paper currency. In 1915 there were in circulation in Paraguay about 125,000,000 pesos in paper. At that date the exchange rate between Paraguayan gold and paper was roughly 15 to 1. Because of disturbing fluctuations in the value of their paper money Paraguayan merchants often use the Argentine peso of gold or paper as a standard unit of value. Commercial transactions between Paraguayan and foreign merchants are commonly reckoned in terms of the gold peso of Argentina.

Education and Learning.—Article VII of the Paraguayan Constitution provided that primary instruction should be compulsory. Yet the percentage of illiteracy has always been high. Elementary, rural, graded, and night schools have been established. As institutions of higher education where students prepare for university education, national colleges or academies have been founded at Asunción and at other places. A law of 1889 provided for a National University which opened its doors in the following year. The National University of Paraguay is composed of a college of law and social sciences, a college of medicine, and a college of mathematics. Besides the university, there are normal schools, a military academy, and an ecclesiastical seminary. Among the foreigners who have stimulated Paraguay's intellectual life is Dr. C. Fiebrig who made excursions into the forests along the Paraná River to make a collection of Paraguayan flora. At his own cost Moses Bertoni established an agronomy station upon the banks of the upper Paraná. Of the Paraguayans who have made reputations as men of letters no name is more worthy of mention than that of Juan Silvano Godoi, the author of charming biographical sketches, who donated a valuable library and works of art to his native land.

Paraguay since the Outbreak of the World War.—Paraguay soon felt some effects of the World War. In August, 1914, a moratorium was declared by Congress for one year. During the administration of Manuel Franco, a Liberal-Radical who was inaugurated in August, 1916, the

moratorium was extended. Paraguay's imports decreased and with them her customs revenues. Disturbed economic conditions—which were partly the result of the World War—induced the government to establish a bureau which was to arrange for the redemption of paper money and to regulate the currency. With Argentina a treaty was negotiated providing that, with few exceptions, the products of each country were to be admitted into the other country free of duty for five years. A law was passed providing for compulsory military service. With regard to the declared policy of the United States toward the German submarine campaign, the Paraguayan government expressed its sympathy for her advocacy of neutral rights. In 1918 in a message to Congress the President stated that Paraguay accepted the principles of American solidarity as voiced by President Wilson. Franco died in June, 1919, and was succeeded by Vice-President José P. Montero. Montero's successor was Manuel Gondra, who returned from Washington—where he had been serving as the minister of Paraguay—to Asunción, where he was inaugurated on August 15, 1920. President Gondra was not long in office, however, when factional disturbances again took place. In the end of October, 1921, revolutionists at Asunción led by ex-President Schaerer forced Gondra to resign the presidency in favor of Vice-President Paiva.

Summary.—No people of South America have been more influenced by their political heritage and their geographical location than the Paraguayans. The people of Paraguay had been deeply affected by the Jesuit régime and were later influenced by the despotism of Francia and of the López dynasty. Patriotic though they were, some Paraguayan leaders apparently cared little about the forms of government. That attitude was probably partly responsible for the frequent alterations in the government—which to foreigners often seemed to be mere contests for power and office—as well as for the domination of politico-military cliques or parties. Aside from this, Paraguay's history since 1870 has been largely the story of her readjustment and recuperation from the effects of her tragic struggle with three neighboring nations. In recent years there have been some encouraging signs of a political transformation: revolutions have happily

become less frequent, interest in public education is developing, and attention is being turned from personal or party advantage to social welfare. The influence of Brazil upon Paraguay has waned. But linked as she is to Argentina by many bonds, Paraguay will probably long remain to a considerable extent a commercial dependency of her great southern neighbor. It remains to be seen to what extent Paraguay can develop or maintain an autonomous industrial life in the face of the foreign interests that are striking root in her rich, unexploited soil. Bordered by three of the largest states of South America, deprived of much valuable territory and threatened with the loss of more of the domain which she claims, Paraguay has nevertheless within her comparatively narrow bounds the basis for a vigorous national life.

CHAPTER XI

CHILE

O'Higgins as Supreme Director.—Chile arose from the captaincy general of that name. After the captaincy general of Chile had been liberated by San Martín, Director O'Higgins proceeded to organize a new government. O'Higgins appointed Miguel Zañartu as secretary of state and José Ignacio Zenteno as secretary of war. A short time afterwards, Hipólito Villegas was placed in charge of the finances. Meantime Director O'Higgins issued some reformatory decrees. All Chileans were to take an oath of fidelity to the new government. Property belonging to royalists was to be confiscated; and a Chilean army was to be organized.

The Chilean Constitution of 1818.—In May, 1818, the "Supreme Director of the State"—as O'Higgins was styled—appointed a commission of seven men to frame a provisional constitution for Chile. A draft of a fundamental law was submitted to O'Higgins who promulgated it in October, 1818. This Constitution placed the supreme executive authority of the nation in the hands of O'Higgins—who was to be aided by three secretaries—and gave him the right to appoint all important magistrates, as well as the right to veto legislation. It granted legislative authority to a Senate composed of five members. It vested judicial authority in a supreme court composed of five members who, like the Senators, should be chosen by O'Higgins. The territory of Chile was divided into three provinces which should be managed by officials called governors-intendant. The Constitution of 1818 contained a pledge that a Congress would be convoked when the country was freed from royalist soldiers.

Foreign Policy of O'Higgins.—Yet Director O'Higgins remained virtually the Dictator of the new state for several years. He appointed five prominent Chileans members of

the Senate; but their decisions, on the whole, merely embodied his wishes. In his foreign policy O'Higgins was comparatively successful. Despite differences between San Martín and the United Provinces of la Plata, the Dictator maintained amicable relations with that state. He negotiated treaties of alliance with the governments of Peru and Colombia. His government was recognized by the Mexican Empire. In 1822 his agent in London, Antonio de Irisarri, succeeded in negotiating a loan of one million pounds with English bankers.

Domestic Reforms.—Dictator O'Higgins rightly felt that conditions in Chile were ripe for certain social reforms. He reopened the National Institute, an educational establishment which had been closed for several years, and he improved elementary schools in various ways. He promoted the organization of a police system in the cities and also in rural districts. From his epoch date the *serenos* or watchmen who patrol the streets of Santiago. He attempted to suppress brigandage by establishing special tribunals which dispensed summary justice. He decreed that all titles of nobility granted by the Spanish King to Chileans, as well as the coats of arms attesting those titles, should be abolished. Further, he aimed to abolish *mayorazgos* or entailed estates. Those reforms antagonized many members of the influential and wealthy classes, while other Chileans opposed O'Higgins because they had been partisans of the Carreras.

Formation of the Constitution of 1822.—On May 7, 1822, O'Higgins issued a decree which directed that elections should be held for a "preparatory Convention." Elections which took place in the municipalities resulted in the choice of delegates who had been designated by the Dictator. To the Convention which was installed at Santiago on July 23 O'Higgins submitted a message resigning his position; but its members declared that he should remain in command, and he yielded. On September 28, 1822, he sent another message to the Convention proposing that it should frame a new fundamental law for Chile. A project of a Constitution was promptly formed, briefly discussed, and sanctioned by the Convention on October 23, 1822. A few days later the Supreme Director swore to observe it. Although this Constitution declared that sovereign authority emanated from the

people, and although it vested the government in three distinct departments, yet it virtually provided that O'Higgins might wield dictatorial powers for ten years longer.

Abdication of O'Higgins.—Two months after the Constitution of 1822 was promulgated, a revolt which was led by a soldier of the Revolution named Ramón Freire occurred at Concepción. The insurrection spread throughout other districts in southern Chile, and a *cabildo abierto* soon assembled in Santiago to request the Director to give up his office. On January 28, 1823, a committee from this council asked O'Higgins to resign. At first he demurred declaring that there was no competent authority to which he might transfer his functions. The insistence of the revolutionists, however, convinced him that he must yield, and he reluctantly gave up his power to a junta upon the condition that a national Congress should be convoked. After the acts of his administration had been adjudged, the ex-Director sailed for Peru.

Freire Becomes Supreme Director.—The provisional government that succeeded Director O'Higgins soon selected General Ramón Freire to serve as Supreme Director until a Constituent Congress should assemble. Freire aimed to continue the policy of reform which had been initiated by O'Higgins; and he succeeded in abolishing negro slavery. When the Constituent Congress assembled it promptly confirmed the choice of Freire as Supreme Director. It entrusted the task of framing a Constitution to a prominent jurist named Juan Egaña. After some discussion of his project it adopted a Constitution which was promulgated on December 29, 1823.

Chile's Constitution of 1823.—That Constitution provided for a peculiar and complicated form of government. Executive authority should be vested in a Supreme Director whose term of office should ordinarily be four years. His cabinet was to be composed of three secretaries. He was to be advised by a council made up of dignitaries and magistrates. Legislative authority was granted to a bicameral Congress composed of a Senate and a "National Chamber." Ordinarily the Senate, which was to be composed of nine members, was to exercise legislative functions. Only when differences arose between the Senate and the Director in regard to the enactment of a law, should the members of the

National Chamber be summoned to exercise legislative powers. National magistrates were to be chosen by male citizens in electoral assemblies which were also authorized to censure officials for neglect of duty. Judicial authority was vested in a supreme court, an appellate court, and inferior judges. Careful provisions were made about the powers of judicial tribunals. The republic was to be divided and subdivided into various administrative districts. Some provision was made for municipal governments. Restrictions were placed upon the press; for nothing might be published without the previous sanction of a tribunal of censors. In order to appreciate the relative merit of Chileans this Constitution created a register of "national morality": a citizen who had performed a distinctive service to his country was to be adjudged worthy of civic merit. Regulations concerning that honor were to be formulated by the Senate. The Constitution stipulated that, unless they had been conceded a dispensation by Congress, all citizens of Chile should be Roman Catholics. Artificial though this fundamental law was, yet, as suggested in a commemorative decree, it became a political legacy to posterity.

The Policies of Freire.—Evidently some of its provisions were never put into force. By a coup d'état Director Freire soon established himself as dictator. Freire led two campaigns against Spanish royalists in the Chiloé Islands and thus brought the archipelago under Chile's jurisdiction. After he had banished the royalist bishop of Santiago, Freire's relations with the Papacy became strained. An agent of the Pope named Juan Muzzi demanded his passports, and the Papacy would not acknowledge the right of the Chilean government to make ecclesiastical appointments. Perhaps the most awkward problem which confronted Dictator Freire was concerned with the finances; for he soon found it difficult to pay the interest upon the debt that had been incurred in England.

Federalism and the Constitutions of 1826 and 1828.—A significant development in Chilean politics was the appearance of a party that advocated the adoption of a federal system of government. Among its leaders were Camilo Henríquez and a publicist named José M. Infante. In a Congress which Freire convoked the Federal party triumphed: on August 28, 1826, that Congress sanctioned a Constitution that established

a federalistic organization. This fundamental law divided Chile into eight provinces. Each province should be administered by a governor and an assembly as provided by its respective constitution. The Constitution of 1826 did not prove as successful, however, as its projectors had anticipated. Two years later President Pinto accordingly convoked a Constituent Assembly which decided that the government should be popular, representative, and republican. That Assembly promulgated the "Political Constitution of 1828." This Constitution stipulated that Roman Catholicism should be the religion of the State to the exclusion of every other faith. Executive authority was given to a President who should be selected by electors chosen by popular vote. Legislative authority was granted to a Congress composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Provincial assemblies—composed of members chosen by direct popular vote—were given the power to elect Senators, as well as the right to nominate intendants for the provinces. The highest judicial authority was vested in a supreme court.

Party Struggles.—Discussions about constitutional changes had encouraged the formation of new political organizations. The lack of success of the Constitution of 1826 had checked the growth of the Federal party. Young Chileans of the lower classes, styled *Pipolos* (novices) in derision, had supported the liberal movement for a new constitution. Opponents of the Liberals were generally the aristocrats of Chile, that is to say, the clergy and men of property. Members of other parties called those conservatives *Pelucones*, because of the large wigs which colonial aristocrats had customarily worn. The *Pelucones* were opposed to extreme measures or radical changes. To an extent they became a clerical party that stood for the Catholic Church and its influence. After the liberal leader Francisco Antonio Pinto became president under the Constitution of 1828, the Conservatives criticised his policies severely, and he soon relinquished his office. President succeeded President in rapid succession until 1830, when the Conservatives came into office. A civil war which took place between the Liberals led by Prieto culminated in the battle of Lircai, April 17, 1830, where the Conservatives were victorious.

Diego Portáles.—An outstanding figure among the Conservatives was Diego Portáles. A born agitator and a merchant, he believed that Chile needed peace and a stable administration. As secretary of important departments for Vice-President Ovalle, after the battle of Lircái, Portáles exercised extensive authority. Among the measures which he promoted were the following: the banishment of Freire to Peru; the replacement of Liberal office-holders by Conservatives; the reorganization of the national guard under loyal commanders; and the establishment of order. Most important of all, at his instance, on October 1, 1831, Congress passed a law convoking a Convention to revise the Constitution of 1828. To that Convention, which assembled on October 20, 1831, a committee of its members headed by Mariano Egaña, a conservative lawyer, submitted the project of a constitution. During the twelve months of discussion that followed concerning this project, a Liberal named Manuel J. Ganderillas played a leading part. On May 25, 1833, a new Constitution was promulgated. It was based largely upon the project of the committee, modified at some points as a result of the suggestions of Egaña, and at other points apparently moulded in accordance with the advice of Portáles. It discarded many federalistic doctrines.

Constitution of 1833.—The Constitution of 1833 declared that Chile embraced the territory stretching from the desert of Atacama to Cape Horn and from the cordillera of the Andes to the Pacific Ocean, including the Chiloé Archipelago, other adjacent islands, and the Juan Fernández Islands. This Constitution stated that Chile's government was popular and representative and that sovereignty resided in the nation. Her religion was to be Roman Catholicism: no other faith was to be publicly worshiped. The functions of government were to be exercised by executive, legislative, and judicial departments.

The Executive Department.—Executive authority was vested in a President chosen by indirect election to serve for five years. In case of disability he was to be replaced by one of his secretaries. The President should be commander in chief of the army and navy and should be the chief administrator of the state. He could make important appointments,

both civil and ecclesiastical; he could refuse entrance to papal bulls and rescripts; and he could veto laws of Congress. He was to be advised by a council of state. A distinctive feature of this Constitution was the provision that the members of the President's cabinet might at the same time hold seats in Congress.

Legislative and Judicial Departments.—Congress was to be composed of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. Senators—who must have an income—should be chosen by indirect election from districts in the provinces for six years. Deputies should be elected for three years by direct vote from smaller districts. A permanent committee, composed of seven members of Congress chosen by that body, should act as its representative while it was not in session. Among the powers of Congress was the right to declare war and to approve or disapprove the annual budget. A somewhat unusual power which was assigned to it was to pass upon the inability of the President to exercise his office. The lower house was given the exclusive right to impeach national officers, while the upper house was given the right to try such impeachments. The Senate was also granted the exclusive right to approve nominations by the President of bishops and archbishops. The judicial department was to be composed of superior and inferior courts which should be established by law.

Local Government.—Other clauses of the Constitution made provisions about a hierarchy of local officials. The republic was divided into provinces, which were to be governed by intendants appointed by the President. Every province was divided into departments under governors who should be appointed by the President on the recommendation of the intendant. Each department was divided into subdelegations that were to be administered by subdelegates appointed by the governor. Every subdelegation was divided into districts that should be governed by inspectors who were made subject to the respective subdelegate.

Significance of the New Constitution.—The adoption of this Constitution—the oldest Constitution at present in force in Latin America—was a significant step in national progress. It was evidently suited to the particular stage of political development which Chile had reached. It preserved to the

Chileans their religion and their system of landed estates that had descended to them from colonial days. It granted to the President such a large measure of authority that upon its adoption certain Chileans occasionally styled him a monarch. As the sequel will indicate, it sanctioned a régime under which wise statesmen might check anarchy and still hope for the development of a democratic system of government. The Chilean fathers probably did not realize that the Constitution of 1833 made possible the growth of a species of parliamentary government.

President Prieto.—A temporary clause of the Constitution of 1833 stipulated that the existing Congress should remain in session until 1834. In that year elections under the new Constitution took place. General Joaquín Prieto, who had become the chief magistrate in September, 1831, was elected President; he opened the sessions of the first Congress under the new régime in June, 1834. At once he was confronted with serious difficulties because of the embarrassed condition of the finances. In a short time he had to contend with a threatening insurrection. Ex-President Freire secured two warships in Peru, and in July, 1836, sailed to the Chiloé Islands where he planned to organize a revolution that would overthrow the Chilean government. But Freire was captured, tried by court martial, and condemned to exile. Not only did this incident injure the prestige of the Liberal party, but it created a strong prejudice against Peru and possibly had some influence upon the attitude of the Chilean government toward the Peru-Bolivian Confederation which soon came into existence. In 1841 General Manuel Búlnes—who had defeated the confederate army of Peru and Bolivia at the battle of Yungay—became president of Chile.

Varied Progress under President Búlnes.—Although Búlnes was a Conservative, yet he attempted to govern by a cabinet composed of members of different parties. During his administration marked advances were made in various lines. A normal school was founded at Santiago and placed in charge of Domingo Sarmiento. A law of November 19, 1842, provided for the founding of the University of Chile at Santiago. It was opened on September 17, 1843, in the same structure as that which had been occupied by the Uni-

versity of San Felipe. A scholarly Venezuelan named Andrés Bello was made rector of the University of Chile. Bello was also charged by the government to prepare a Chilean civil code. The military academy, which had been created by O'Higgins, was reestablished. A debt that Chile had incurred in England—upon which considerable interest had been unpaid—was consolidated. The secretary of finance formulated regulations for the administration of custom houses. In 1843 the schooner "Ancud" sailed from the Chiloé Islands on a voyage to the Strait of Magellan, where upon the peninsula of Brunswick its company planted a Chilean settlement. A few years later Chile's claim to that strait was strengthened by the founding of a town at Punta Arenas. Meantime immigrants from Germany began to settle in the province of Valdivia. On April 25, 1844, Chile signed with Spain a treaty by which that nation acknowledged Chilean independence. During the second administration of Búlnes—who was reelected in 1846—reform tendencies alarmed the Conservatives, who selected Manuel Montt, secretary of justice and public instruction, as their candidate for the presidency.

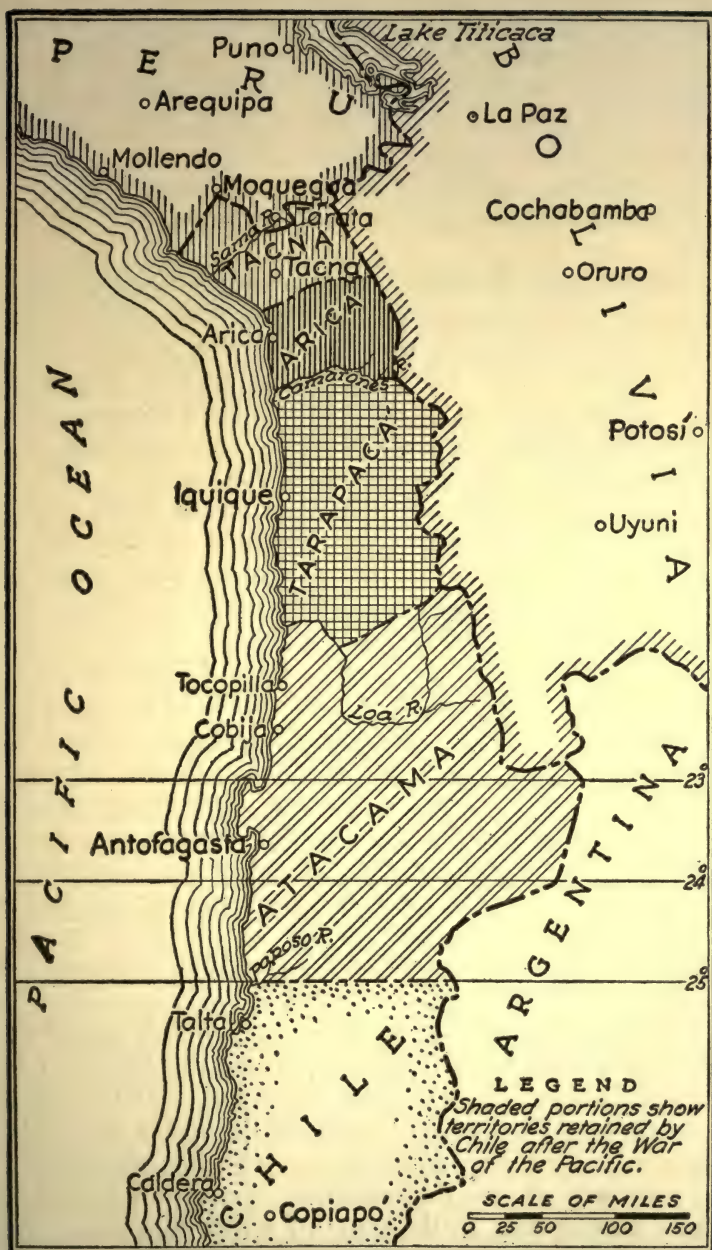
President Manuel Montt Continues the Policies of Búlnes.—Manuel Montt, who served as president from 1851-1861, in many respects continued the policies of Búlnes. Opposition to Montt's rule resulted in an insurrection in which the Liberals were defeated at the battle of Loncomilla on December 8, 1851. Yet the tithe was replaced by a tax. Treaties of commerce were negotiated with various nations of Europe. To promote public improvements a new loan was negotiated in England. *Mayorazgos* were abolished. In 1857 the Chilean civil code went into force. After the reelection of Montt a new alignment of parties appeared: the Montt-Varista party—so designated because its leader was Antonio Váras, one of Montt's secretaries—that had pronounced aristocratic leanings; and the Liberal-Conservative party composed of former Liberals and Conservatives who opposed the aristocratic régime which had been fostered by Montt. In 1859 strife between the contending parties culminated in civil war. A law was consequently enacted which provided that citizens who took part in riots and revolts should

be answerable with their persons and property for the ensuing damage.

Foreign and Domestic Wars.—The Montt-Varista party nominated for the presidency José J. Pérez, a publicist of wide experience, who triumphed in 1861 by a large majority of electoral votes. During his administration a war broke out between Spain and Peru which ultimately involved Chile. For her the most significant event of the war was the ruthless bombardment of Valparaíso by a Spanish fleet on March 31, 1866—an event which incited the Chileans to fortify their ports and to build a navy. At the instigation of a troublesome Frenchman who assumed the trappings of royalty, the Araucanian Indians arose against the Chilean pioneers who were gradually encroaching upon their territory. But the pseudo-king, Aurelie Antonine I, was captured by Chileans and deported.

Religious Reforms.—An animated discussion about the religious provisions of the Constitution resulted in a law which provided that Protestants might practice their faith inside their own buildings. Under Federico Errázuriz, a Conservative who became president in 1871, religious reform was carried farther by a decree which provided that Protestants might be buried in certain portions of Catholic cemeteries. Largely because of those reforms the clergy assumed an attitude of protest toward the President. A Clerical or Ultramontane party was definitely formed. During the presidency of Aníbal Pinto a struggle occurred between Church and State. As the result of a dispute over the choice of the archbishop of Santiago the government secured complete control of ecclesiastical appointments. On January 16, 1884, under President Santa María, a law of civil marriage was promulgated which made possible the celebration in Chile of a legal marriage without the participation of Catholic priests. Other laws of the same year provided for the legal recognition of non-Catholic cemeteries which might be used for the interment of members of any religious sect.

War with Bolivia and Peru.—Meantime, the so-called "War of the Pacific" had occurred between Chile, on the one side, and Bolivia and Peru, on the other side—the causes and significance of which will be considered in detail in the



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS RESULTING FROM "THE WAR OF THE PACIFIC."

following chapters. Let it suffice to note here that, as a result of Chile's triumph in that conflict, she was permitted to retain possession of the Bolivian department of Atacama, she was conceded the province of Tarapacá by Peru, and was allowed to retain control of the Peruvian provinces of Tacna and Arica, pending a *plébiscite* of their inhabitants that should decide whether those provinces should belong to Chile or to Peru.

Politics under President Balmaceda.—A significant development took place in internal politics during the age of José Manuel Balmaceda, who had served as secretary of the interior under Santa María. A facile speaker, a journalist and a politician of no small ability, he had become a leader of the anti-clericals and reformers who were sometimes styled the *Reformistas*. His presidency, which began in 1886, was marked by some progress in education and in public improvements. In politics Balmaceda attempted to unite the discordant groups of Liberals into one strong party. His cabinets, that contained politicians from different cliques, were unstable. Upon the one hand, on August 9, 1888, he sanctioned a law regarding suffrage which provided that all male citizens of twenty-one years of age who could read and write and who were listed in departmental registers should have the right to vote. Upon the other hand, he was accused of manipulating congressional elections. Suspicions that the President was preparing the way for a successor, who was not favored by the congressional majority, precipitated a conflict between him and Congress before the electoral law was put into operation. So strong did congressional opposition to Balmaceda's administration become, that eventually only a nucleus of Liberals supported him.

His Struggle with Congress.—A crisis was precipitated when Balmaceda insisted that he had the constitutional right to select a cabinet which was not in harmony with the majority in Congress. In January, 1890, he formed a new cabinet composed of his own adherents—a step that ran counter to the principles of the parliamentary system which had been slowly developing. As the result of congressional opposition, the President yielded and replaced that cabinet by one satisfactory to Congress. In August, 1890, it therefore passed

a law making appropriations for the expenses of government. After a crisis in the cabinet, its members resigned, and Balmaceda again selected advisers composed of his own followers who belonged to a faction that was in a minority in Congress. At a meeting in Santiago on October 15—the day upon which Balmaceda dissolved Congress—members of the opposition adopted a resolution stating that the President had shown bad faith by the selection of a cabinet which was not supported by the congressional majority. The permanent committee protested against various acts of Balmaceda and notified him that after December 31 of the ensuing year he would have no authority to maintain the army or the navy unless Congress made appropriations.

The Congressional Revolt.—On January 1, 1891, President Balmaceda issued a proclamation declaring that the “parliamentary regimen” which the coalition advocated was “incompatible with republican government.” A few days later he issued an extraordinary decree announcing that, until Congress passed an appropriation for 1891, the budget which it had approved for 1889 should be in force. This act was not only contrary to precedent but it was extralegal—not to say dictatorial. Early on the morning of January 7 vessels of the Chilean navy at Valparaiso accordingly sailed out of the harbor bearing prominent members of the Anti-Balmacedista party. The navy was in open revolt. Upon the same day a pronunciamiento, signed by a majority of the congressmen, was published which declared that Balmaceda had been deposed because he had violated the Constitution of the republic.

Progress of the Anti-Balmaceda Revolution.—In the civil war which ensued the Congressionalists controlled the navy, while the Balmacedists dominated the army. As the struggle progressed, the fortune of arms inclined more and more to the side of Congress. The Congressionalists established a governmental junta at Iquique. After some bloody conflicts by sea and land, the soldiers of Balmaceda were badly routed near Valparaiso on August 28, 1891. Upon the following day the President abdicated and appointed General Baquedano—who had been neutral in the struggle—as the head of a provisional government. Balmaceda sought a refuge in the Argentine legation, while confusion and anarchy reigned

in Santiago. Some days later the revolutionary junta reached Valparaiso; and it was soon installed in the capital. To avert the shame of being prosecuted by his political enemies, on the morning of September 19, Balmaceda committed suicide. In his own words, he covered himself with a "mantle of pity."

Its Results.—The internecine conflict had a demoralizing influence upon the finances of Chile. Her debt had increased greatly, while her currency had been swollen by metallic and paper tokens that had been issued by the congressional junta. The political result of the revolution was the establishment of the principle that no President should govern without a cabinet which was supported by a congressional majority. Yet this did not mean that presidential authority should be subjected to the public will through Congress; for the practice of dissolving the legislature after a vote of lack of confidence never prevailed in Chile. Balmaceda had failed in his attempt to make the government of Chile "presidential" instead of—in a sense—"parliamentary." In some respects it continued to resemble the French system of parliamentary government.

The "Baltimore" Affair.—As incidents connected with the anti-Balmaceda revolution had evidently convinced some Chileans that the United States was opposed to this movement, a dispute with that government took on a serious aspect. On October 16, 1891, a brawl occurred between Chileans and sailors of the United States vessel "Baltimore" who were on shore at Valparaiso. One United States officer was killed and several sailors were wounded. President Harrison in a message to Congress took a positive and somewhat jingoistic attitude. As a retort, the secretary of foreign relations of Chile sent a discourteous cablegram to her minister at Washington which was communicated to the United States government and also published in Chile. In January, 1892, the United States therefore delivered an ultimatum to Chile demanding an indemnity. That policy exasperated many Chileans, but rather than precipitate a war with the United States their government agreed to pay an indemnity of seventy-five thousand dollars for the families of the injured sailors.

Reconstruction under Jorje Montt.—Even before the suicide of Balmaceda, the victors in the civil strife had made Captain Jorje Montt—who had become vice-admiral—the head of a junta of government. In November, 1891, a new Congress selected Montt to be president. Toward the vanquished party his policy was generous. He immediately granted an amnesty to officials of the Balmaceda régime, with certain exceptions. In fiscal and political affairs he adopted a policy of reform. On December 22, 1891, he sanctioned an organic law concerning local government. That law provided for the establishment in Chile of municipalities which were to be administered by elective officers. Municipal corporations were accorded the right of regulating local affairs and also the privilege of supervising the registration of voters in local and national elections. The powers of intendants, governors, and subdelegates were accordingly much reduced. Another measure of reconstruction promoted by Jorje Montt was concerned with inconvertible paper currency. In spite of violent opposition by the debtor classes, on February 11, 1895, he signed a bill which provided for the redemption of paper money in gold by the government and which established the gold standard. The gold peso was made the monetary unit.

International Problems.—In 1896 Federico Errázuriz, a son of the former president, was elected chief magistrate by the support of Conservatives and members of other party groups. During his administration various problems of foreign relations pressed for solution. Those were the questions with Peru about the *plébiscite* in Tacna and Arica; the policy to be adopted in regard to Bolivia's demand for a seaport upon the Pacific; and a boundary dispute with Argentina. A possibility of war provoked the fear of a panic; hence the President suspended the law which provided for the redemption of paper currency in gold. The boundary dispute with Argentina was an inheritance from other days. It had arisen in a serious form in 1881 when, by the mediation of the United States, a treaty had been signed by the contending parties drawing a boundary line in Tierra del Fuego, and providing that the boundary in the cordillera should be a line drawn between the highest peaks which were supposed to indicate the continental watershed. As investigations

showed that the line sketched by the treaty of 1881 and this watershed did not everywhere coincide, a renewal of the old controversy took place. Peru and Bolivia evidently hoped to profit by Chile's foreign difficulties. Eventually Chile and Argentina agreed to submit the dispute about their limits in the cordillera to the arbitration of the English king. The controversy about their boundaries in the *puna* of Atacama was settled by the arbitration of a mixed commission in 1899. Errázuriz died in the following year and was succeeded by Jerman Riesco.

Political Tendencies.—The suicide of Balmaceda did not end his influence in Chilean political life. A tendency was indeed displayed among the lower classes to view him as the martyred champion of the cause of the people against the aristocratic classes who were entrenched in Congress. In time his disciples formed a party group that was designated the *Balmacedistas*. They founded their principles upon a letter left by their leader: their political programme was to vindicate the President and to protect that magistrate against alleged encroachments by Congress. Although the Liberal party had been greatly injured by Balmaceda's policy, yet it recovered strength in the election of 1901 when its candidate, Jerman Riesco, was elected by a large majority over the coalition candidate, Pedro Montt. The Conservative party declined in influence; it became a clerical party whose chief political ambition was to establish the dominance of the Church. President Riesco's administration was notorious for political instability. There were frequent changes in his cabinet: ministerial crises caused him to seek support, even more than his predecessors had done, in groupings and regroupings of cliques or parties. Perhaps that is one reason why he was unable to resist the clamor for the emission of inconvertible paper money.

Rapprochement between Chile and Argentina.—Still, during his administration significant moves were made in international relations. The long-standing dispute between Chile and Argentina about their limits was adjusted by the decision of the English King who made his definitive award in November, 1902. About the same juncture those two nations signed significant treaties stipulating that in the future

their disputes should be settled by arbitration, that their military armaments should be limited, and that for five years neither party should, without previous notification, make an increase in her navy.

The Election of 1906.—In 1906—the year in which a terrible earthquake visited Valparaíso—a new political alignment appeared. The National party emerged: it originated in the personal following of Manuel Montt. With the aid of the Radical party, which championed the application of democratic principles to party organization and to government, and of some Liberals and Conservatives, it elected to the presidency Pedro Montt, a son of Manuel Montt. In that campaign the Radical party adopted a platform advocating the election of the President by direct popular vote, the payment of salaries to congressmen, the modification of the Senate so as to make it a different body from the lower house, the complete separation of Church and State, and a decrease in the number of feast days. The Democratic party, which was organized to represent the interests of the laboring classes, did not frame a precise statement of political principles.

Material Progress.—President Pedro Montt was troubled by an opposition which desired to issue more inconvertible paper currency. He encouraged important public works and the construction of railroads. During his administration the Chilean people celebrated the completion of the tunnel through the frozen ridge of the Andes. This formed the last link of the railroad between Santiago and Mendoza, thus affording quick communication with Argentina. Under Ramón Barros Luco, an octogenarian who served as president from 1911 to 1916, material progress continued. The railroad which Chile had agreed to construct from Arica to La Paz was completed. Along the seacoast a longitudinal railroad was extended from Iquique to Puerto Montt. The government promoted the construction of quays, reservoirs, dams, and aqueducts. United States corporations acquired valuable mines of copper and tin where they constructed huge mining plants.

Conditions on the Eve of the World War: Immigration.—A stream of Germans that emigrated to southern Chile caused the formation there of a region known as "Little Ger-

many" which, in certain particulars, resembled southern Brazil. In 1907 some eight thousand immigrants reached Chile. Regulations providing that only immigrants under contract with private individuals would be admitted reduced the influx. In 1908 only four thousand immigrants landed on Chilean soil. Of one thousand foreigners who arrived in Chile in 1913 about eight hundred were Spaniards; over one hundred came from Italy, and about the same number from France. In truth the chief element in recent Chilean immigration has been the Spanish. A distinct national type has consequently developed in Chile: the typical Chilean is a descendant of a Spaniard with an occasional dash of Araucanian blood.

The Army.—According to Chile's Constitution all citizens who can bear arms are liable for military service. The organizer of the Chilean army was Emil Körner. On September 5, 1900, a law was enacted concerning recruits which provided that all citizens between eighteen and forty-five years of age should inscribe their names in military registers. Citizens from twenty to twenty-one years should belong to the active contingent for at least nine months. In practice soldiers actually in the service were chosen by allotment; the rest of the recruits formed the first reserve, who served nominally for nine years; and then they passed to the second reserve, where they were to serve until they had reached the age of forty-five. The President managed the army through a secretary of war, who was aided by a general staff. Officers were trained at military academies. Prospective officers of the general staff received special training at an academy in Santiago. About 1914 the Chilean army numbered some seventeen thousand men: it was almost equally divided between the regular army and conscripts. Among the officers were six generals and ten brigadier generals.

Navy.—Recruits for the navy were secured from military conscripts. Under the secretary of the navy there was a general director, who was in charge of naval organization and administration. The general director with the heads of his departments constituted a board of admiralty or naval council. Besides a naval school and an academy,

there were naval establishments at Magallanes and Talcahuano. There was also a hydrographic bureau. About 1914 the navy of Chile was composed of one battleship, six cruisers, four torpedo gunboats, seven destroyers, and five torpedo boats. In her naval service there were about seven thousand men.

Occupations and Products.—The chief occupations were farming, grazing, mining, and manufacturing. In southern Chile large estates held by descendants of colonial aristocrats were cultivated by laborers who were sometimes in a condition of economic serfdom. The main crops were wheat, corn, barley, and beans. Grapes were raised in various parts of Chile. Large flocks of cattle and sheep grazed upon plains in the South. Some bituminous coal was mined in southern Chile. In 1914 about a million tons of copper were extracted from Chile's enormous ore deposits. Aside from copper, the greatest mineral wealth of Chile was saltpeter which was found mixed with other salts in enormous quantities in the northern desert. An important product of the nitrate industry was iodine. The manufactures of Chile were mainly various food stuffs, alcoholic beverages, clothing, leather, woodwork, and pottery. Statistics of the exports in 1914, besides miscellaneous items, were as follows: beverages and liquors, 175,245 pesos of gold; agricultural products, 16,665,222; pastoral products, 21,824,705; and mineral products, 253,365,503. Here notice must again be taken of the measure of value. Although the monetary standard—the unit of international exchange—was nominally the gold peso worth thirty-six cents in United States money, yet the actual currency was the inconvertible paper peso of fluctuating value.

Transportation.—In transportation Chile is both aided and hindered by her geography. Along the narrow strip of land bordering the ocean there are many ports visited by vessels engaged in the coastwise trade. The South American Steamship Company, which is backed by Chilean capital, is one of the best companies that furnishes service between important Chilean ports and ports of Peru and Panama. Small ports are served by sailing vessels.

In part railways are owned by private companies and in part by the government. By the construction of various short railways which have been linked together, a longitudinal railway has been constructed that stretches south from Pisagra in the province of Tarapacá to Puerto Montt in the province of Llanquihue. Branch railroads or transverse lines stretch from the seaboard toward the foothills of the Andes. Three railroads cross the Andes from Chile: a railroad from Lai-Lai (near Santiago) to Mendoza; a railroad from Arica to La Paz, Bolivia; and another from Antofagasta to Oruro, La Paz, and other Bolivian cities.

Education.—Upon the eve of the World War, the general direction of education in Chile was in charge of the secretary of public instruction. Elementary education was mainly supported by the local districts. Free, and entrusted to laymen, it was not, however, compulsory. Secondary education was chiefly carried on in *liceos* where courses lasting from three to six years prepared students for a university career or for technical schools. As already noticed, normal schools in Chile date from the age of Sarmiento. In charge of the secretary of industry were various technical schools, such as the school of arts and trades, agricultural schools, and mining schools.

Universities.—At the capital city there was also a school of pedagogy which was affiliated with the national university. The University of Chile, reorganized by a law of 1879, was managed by a board of public instruction. It was composed of the following colleges: theology; law and social sciences; medicine and pharmacy; physical science and mathematics; philosophy, letters, and fine arts. Besides furnishing instruction in the social sciences, the college of law and social sciences supervised legal education throughout the republic. The medical college included dental and pharmacy schools. The college of physical science and mathematics included a school of engineering and a school of architecture. A school of pedagogy was affiliated with the college of philosophy and letters. The rector or president of the University of Chile was selected at intervals by the President of the republic from a list of three nominees submitted by the university faculty.

At the capital, besides the national university, a Catholic University had been established.

Chilean Literature.—Andrés Bello is the first distinctive name in Chilean literature. Editor of a government journal called *El Araucano*, a poet of no small merit, author of a Castilian grammar and of a standard work on international law, Bello stimulated intellectual life in Chile in various directions. His pupil Salvador Sanfuentes composed poems which dealt with dramatic incidents in the relations between Spaniards and Araucanians. Guillermo Blest Gana wrote verses about Chilean home life. Upon the occasion of the war with Spain in inspired verses Guillermo Matta summoned Spanish Americans to rise against her attack. A poem of Eusebio Lillo was adopted as the national hymn of Chile. While upon diplomatic service for his country in Bogotá, José Antonio Soffia wrote a notable poem about Bolívar and San Martín. Among prize poems of Eduardo de la Barro was one entitled *Á la independencia de América*. Alberto Blest Gana—who had resided in Paris—produced among other novels, *Martín Rivas*, a tale of Chilean society. A stimulating prose writer was José V. Lastarria, whose stories were collected and published in a volume entitled *Antaño y Hogaño*. His *Recuerdos Literarios* described the dispute in Chilean literary circles about romanticism, while among his historical studies was a treatise about the Chilean Constitution. A group of great writers made the University of Chile famous. Miguel L. Amunátegui wrote learned monographs about the Revolution against Spanish rule. Besides numerous studies and special volumes, Diego Barros Arana composed a monumental *Historia jeneral de Chile*. Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna was a voluminous and suggestive historical writer. The dean of American bibliographers, José T. Medina has composed or edited some two hundred brochures or volumes. Besides those productions, Chilean scholars have planned and are publishing inedited documents that deal with important phases of their country's history.

Fine Arts.—Considerable attention has been paid to the promotion of fine arts in Chile. Aspiring painters and sculptors have been much influenced by the artists of France and

Spain. About the middle of the nineteenth century a French painter named Monvoisin established a school of fine arts, and subsequently his pupils founded an academy of painting. Among prominent painters may be mentioned Antonio Smith, the creator of Chilean landscape painting. The great painter of historical scenes was Pedro Subercaseaux who depicted the departure of Almagro from Peru for Chile and also the embrace of O'Higgins and San Martín after the victory at Maipú. Another well-known painter was Pedro Lira who served as the director of the school of fine arts. Of Chilean sculptors space allows the mention of only a few: Nicanor Plaza, who made a sculptured representation of Caupolicán; Rebeca Matte, sculptress of *La Guerra*; Simón González, who chiseled *Niño Taimado*; and Ernesto Concha, sculptor of *La Miseria*. A striking collection of Chilean artistic productions are kept in the beautiful building where an international exhibit of fine arts was held at Santiago in 1910—a building which subsequently became the home of the National Museum of Fine Arts. Chilean music bids fair to develop under the direction of the National Conservatory of Music which is also located at the capital city.

Chile and the World War.—On August 3, 1914, the Chilean secretary of foreign relations informed the German minister at Santiago that his government would maintain "the strictest neutrality" in the war which had begun between Germany and Russia. Chile soon began to feel the economic effects of that struggle: she lost Teutonic markets for guano and nitrate. In 1915 the attack of an English squadron upon the German warship "Dresden"—which was supposed to be interned—provoked Chile to demand an apology, the acceptance of which angered Germany. Although exposed to commerce raiders, yet because of her position upon the Pacific she was not so menaced by Germany's submarine campaign as Argentina and Brazil. In response to the announcement of a new ruthless submarine campaign, on February 8, 1917, the Chilean secretary of foreign affairs under President Sanfuentes, who took office in December, 1916, sent a note to the German envoy at Santiago to state that Germany's blockade involved a restriction of the

rights of neutrals which Chile would not endure because it was contrary to principles that had long been observed in regard to nations which were distant from the clash of arms. Further, the Chilean secretary stated that his government could not accept the policy announced by the Imperial German government because that would be a departure from strict neutrality. He declared that Chile reserved the liberty to insist upon all her rights whenever an attack might be made upon her ships. On April 11, 1917, Chile proclaimed her neutrality in the war between the United States and Germany—a policy to which she adhered throughout the struggle.

Present Party Groupings.—The directive force in the changing politics of Chile, like that of England in war time, has often been in the hands of a coalition. Occasionally a President has actually attempted to govern by a cabinet composed of a member from each important political party. Since the age of Balmaceda the political pendulum in Chile has swung toward congressional—which ordinarily meant aristocratic—domination of the government. Parliamentary government has often been a régime distinguished by its instability. It has been estimated that in recent decades the average life of a cabinet in Chile has been about three months. Two influential party groups in present Chilean politics are the National Union and the Liberal Alliance. The Union is mainly composed of Conservatives and Liberals of former days, while the Alliance is made up of Democrats, Socialists, and other persons with radical views. In the main the National Union is representative of the landed aristocracy which has exercised a profound influence in Chilean politics, while the Alliance may not inappropriately be designated the progressive and popular element that draws its strength from the growing middle class.

The Presidential Election of 1920.—In the campaign of 1920 the candidate of the National Union was Barros Borgoño, a member of an aristocratic family who had served as secretary of foreign relations, while the candidate of the Liberal Alliance was an eloquent lawyer of Italian descent named Arturo Alessandri. So close was

the presidential election which took place on June 25 that both parties ultimately agreed that instead of allowing Congress to scrutinize the election returns—as provided by the Constitution—they would form a special tribunal of seven members designated the Court of Honor to serve as an electoral board. By a vote of five to two that board decided that Barros Borgoño had received one hundred and seventy-six votes, while Alessandri had received one hundred and seventy-seven. Alessandri, who was inaugurated in December, 1920, selected the members of his cabinet from the different political groups that composed his party coalition.

President Alessandri's Programme.—In a message to Congress on June 1, 1921, President Alessandri outlined his programme. Among social and economic reforms he advocated an improvement in the legal status of women, the adoption of laws that would promote the welfare of laborers, and the stabilization of the monetary system. Pending the formulation of specific amendments to the Constitution, he suggested that the fundamental law should be modified so as to separate Church and State completely. He proposed that the administration should be decentralized by transferring to provincial officials a large measure of authority that the national government had exercised in local affairs. The existing parliamentary system, said Alessandri, should be altered so as to prevent destructive collisions between the executive and the legislative departments. He asked that the permanent committee and the council of state should be abolished. The President should be elected by direct popular vote. In place of the existing system of presidential succession, Alessandri proposed that a vice-president ought to be substituted who should also be chosen by popular vote.

Summary.—The history of Chile is a story of steady development. Since the establishment of independence, by war, or by diplomacy, or by occupation, the confines of her territory have been drawn to the south and to the east and pushed much farther to the north. Chile's industrial development has been vigorous. Although she possesses the physical basis for a diversified agriculture in the south,

yet her economic prosperity has become too largely dependent upon the exploitation of the nitrate deposits. From a military and naval point of view, the position of Chile is much stronger than that of some other Latin-American nations. Of all the Latin-American countries Chile is the state where constitutional development has most resembled that of England. At the present day certain significant results of the Anti-Balmaceda revolution—which established a species of parliamentary government—seem to be jeopardized by the advent to power of a coalition of the radical political elements of the nation. Evidently many members of the Liberal Alliance consider Congress, and especially the Senate, as the citadel of the privileged classes. At the same time the decline in the purchase of votes at national elections holds promise of the formation of an independent electorate. Whatever the future may hold in store for the Chileans, of them it may more truthfully be said than of almost any other Latin-American people that they constitute a homogeneous nation. Chile is virile, progressive, and tenacious of her rights.

CHAPTER XII

BOLIVIA

The Creation of Bolivia.—The state of Bolivia originally claimed the territory which had been subject to the audiencia of Charcas. In August, 1825, the Congress at Sucre adopted a flag for Bolivia; it made provision for a national coinage, and declared that the new nation should have a representative and republican government. Shortly afterwards it asked that two thousand Colombian soldiers should be allowed to remain in Bolivia for the protection of the new republic. On October 3, 1825, it enacted a law which provided that General Sucre should be the supreme ruler whenever Bolívar was not within the limits of Bolivia.

Measures of Bolívar and Sucre.—On November 1 Simón Bolívar reached the Bolivian capital. For a short period the Liberator acted as the chief executive of Bolivia. After making certain administrative and political reforms, on December 29 he issued a decree which announced that a Constituent Congress for Bolivia would assemble at the capital on May 25, 1826. At the same time he transferred his authority to General Sucre. During the months which elapsed before the Constituent Congress met, Sucre initiated important policies. In January, 1826, he issued a decree providing that Bolivia's territory should be carved into five departments which were to be divided into provinces. He soon exercised authority over the desert of Atacama, which had been under the jurisdiction of the audiencia of Charcas. In vain he aimed to secure from the Peruvian government a strip of territory that would include the port of Arica and thus furnish Bolivia a convenient egress to the sea. By a decree of May 18, 1826, Peru recognized Bolivia's independence.

Bolívar's Constitution for Bolivia.—On May 25, 1826, Sucre resigned his authority to the Constituent Congress. At once Congress elected him provisional president of Bolivia. This position he accepted with reluctance. Meantime, at the request of the Bolivians, Bolívar had framed a project of a Constitution for the new republic. In June, 1826, Sucre presented this project to the Constituent Congress. Bolívar's Constitution proposed that the government should be vested in executive, legislative, judicial, and "electoral" powers or departments. Executive authority was given to a President who should serve for life. His powers resembled those granted to the United States President; his cabinet was to be composed of three secretaries. The legislature was to be made up of three houses: a House of Tribunes, a House of Senators, and a House of Censors. The Tribunes were granted special power over fiscal, military, and foreign affairs. The Senators were given control of judicial, ecclesiastical, and constitutional matters. The Censors were charged to observe that the Constitution, laws, and treaties of the nation were obeyed. In addition, they were given special powers concerning education and the press. Judicial power was vested in a supreme court, district courts, and justices of the peace. The supreme court was granted jurisdiction over cases regarding ambassadors, consuls, and the patronage; and it was to scrutinize papal bulls and rescripts. Torture in judicial proceedings was prohibited. The "electoral power" was a scheme for the selection of certain national officers through colleges in the departments. Members of these colleges should be chosen by voters and were to hold their offices for four years. The Liberator provided that Bolivia should be composed of departments which were to be divided into provinces. Those, in turn, should be subdivided into cantons. At the head of each department there should be a prefect. Bolívar maintained that the Constitution should contain no stipulation concerning religious faith.

Its Adoption.—This Constitution was referred by Congress to a committee which proposed certain modifications. After several months of debate it was adopted with an

amendment providing that Roman Catholicism should be the state religion.

The Presidency of Sucre.—Sucre was promptly elected president of Bolivia. On December 9, 1826, he took an oath faithfully to observe the Bolivian Constitution, and made an address to Congress announcing his intention to retire from office on August 2, 1828. President Sucre laid the administrative foundations for the Bolivian state. In July, 1827, the judges whom he had appointed members of the supreme court were installed at the capital. He warned Brazil to evacuate Bolivian territory where she was encroaching. He negotiated a treaty of limits with Peru which stipulated that Bolivia should have possession of the Pacific coast from Cape Sama to the river Loa; but unfortunately for Bolivia the Peruvian executive, General Santa Cruz, declined to sanction the arrangement. Despite the politic measures of Sucre, the presence of Colombian soldiers in Bolivia created much dissatisfaction. The President felt that Peru viewed Bolivia as an outpost of Colombia. Conspiracies which were formed against him have been ascribed to Peruvian influence.

His Withdrawal.—On April 18, 1828, disaffected soldiers in the garrison of the capital city rebelled against President Sucre, who was severely wounded in the right arm. The mutiny was followed by an invasion of Peruvian soldiers under General Gamarra. So far did the invaders penetrate into Bolivia that on July 6, 1828, her invalid President was constrained to agree to a capitulation which provided that the Colombian soldiers should soon leave the soil of Bolivia, that he should resign the presidency, and that a Constituent Assembly should be convoked to revise the Bolivian Constitution. On August 2, 1828, in his message to Congress resigning the presidency, Sucre deplored the policy of intervention which Peru had employed.

Rise of Santa Cruz.—After the departure of General Sucre the Congress of Bolivia proclaimed as president General Blanco, who was soon imprisoned by political enemies and assassinated. Congress then invited General Santa Cruz to assume the presidency of the nation. Santa

Cruz was a forceful native of Bolivia who had served in both the royalist and the patriot armies during the struggle for independence. During Sucre's presidency—while Santa Cruz was president of the Peruvian council of government—he had formed an ambitious project to unite Peru and Bolivia into a Confederation that would include a large portion of the former Empire of the Incas.

Constitutional Changes.—Early in 1829 Santa Cruz accepted the presidency. He soon replaced the Constitution by a provisional statute and selected a commission which framed a civil code for Bolivia that went into force in 1831. At La Paz in August, 1831, a Constituent Assembly adopted a fundamental law which in some particulars was in sharp contrast with the Liberator's Constitution. Bolivia's Constitution of 1831 provided that governmental authority should be exercised by executive, legislative, and judicial departments. The President's term of office was fixed at four years. He was to be aided by three secretaries, and advised by a council of state selected by Congress. Legislative authority was vested in a Congress composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Constitution declared that no person had been born a slave upon the soil of Bolivia since her Declaration of Independence. It prohibited the introduction of slaves into the republic. In October, 1834, a Congress that had assembled at Sucre promulgated a "reformed Constitution" which in reality was the Constitution of 1831 with slight modifications.

Relations with Peru.—A chance to realize his project came to Santa Cruz in 1835. For he arranged with Provisional President Orbegosa of Peru to send an army into that country to restore order. In June, 1835, Santa Cruz deputed his executive authority to a council of ministers, and led his soldiers into Peru. This intervention evoked a protest from some Peruvian leaders, notably from Gamarra and Salaverry. Santa Cruz defeated Gamarra, however, at Yanacocha on August 13, 1835, and Salaverry at Socabaya on February 7, 1836. Meantime Orbegosa had convoked two assemblies of Peruvians to meet at Sicuani and Huara respectively to consider the project of a confederation. The Assembly at Sicuani on March 17, 1836, made known the establishment

of the free and independent state of South Peru, composed of the departments of Arequipa, Ayacucho, Cuzco, and Puno, with Santa Cruz as "Supreme Protector." In the following August the Assembly at Huara proclaimed the state of North Peru, with Santa Cruz as Protector. A Congress at Tapacari had already announced that the Protector of Bolivia was Santa Cruz.

Santa Cruz Establishes the Peru-Bolivian Confederation.—On October 28, 1836, the Protector issued a proclamation which announced the establishment of a Confederation composed of North Peru, South Peru, and Bolivia. Santa Cruz also convoked a General Assembly at Tacna on January 24, 1837, which was to be composed of three deputies from each of the confederated states. In the meantime he had announced that the civil code of Bolivia should be in force throughout the Confederation. He initiated some administrative reforms and issued regulations which promoted commerce and mining.

Its Dissolution.—Yet circumstances were against the Protector. In the northern part of the Confederation many Peruvians felt keenly aggrieved at the predominance of Bolivians in the government. That sentiment was not lessened by the Protector's autocratic measures. Chile became excited at the emergence of a confederated state that included a country in which Freire had organized an expedition against the Chiloé Islands. Dictator Rosas took up arms against the Confederation; and in June, 1838, an Argentine army invaded the Bolivian department of Tarija but was defeated. With the aid of Peruvian *émigrés*, Chilean soldiers invaded southern Peru and occupied Arequipa in October, 1837. In the following month, however, those invaders were compelled to sign a treaty of peace at Paucarpata. Nevertheless, the Chileans soon resumed the struggle, and on January 20, 1839, under General Búlnes they defeated the soldiers of Santa Cruz at the battle of Yungay. The Peru-Bolivian Confederation dissolved and Santa Cruz sailed for Guayaquil.

The Constitution of 1839.—A Constituent Congress soon assembled at Sucre. Its members declared in the preamble of a new Constitution which was adopted in October, 1839, that, as the republic of Bolivia had proclaimed against

the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, the Constitution of 1834 was no longer in force. In comparison with the Constitution of 1831 the fundamental law of 1839 made some innovations. Among those the most important were perhaps the following. It provided for the creation of elective municipal councils in the departmental capitals and of municipal juntas in the cantons. In each departmental capital it established a judicial tribunal with special jurisdiction. It declared that citizens should have the right freely to petition the government. The death penalty—except in specified cases—was prohibited.

José Ballivián Becomes President.—Upon the downfall of Santa Cruz, General Velasco was proclaimed president. Shortly afterwards he was deposed by revolutionists. In September, 1841, soldiers proclaimed that General José Ballivián, an enterprising native of La Paz, was president of the republic. Ballivián announced that the constitutions of 1839 and 1841 were no longer in force and that his policy would be to preserve property, liberty, and the Catholic religion.

The Battle of Ingavi.—As President Gamarra of Peru would not desist from an invasion of Bolivia and evidently aimed to annex the department of La Paz, if not to overthrow the government of the republic, Ballivián placed himself at the head of the army. On November 18, 1841, Gamarra was defeated and killed on the plains of Ingavi, within sight of the snow-capped peaks of Illampu and Illimani. At Puno in the following June a treaty was arranged between Bolivia and Peru by which both nations agreed to restore the *status quo* and to relinquish all claims for indemnities.

Ballivián's Internal Policy.—In 1843 a National Assembly adopted a Constitution for Bolivia. That Constitution much increased the power of the chief magistrate. It provided an advisory body to the President which was designated the national council. His term of office was extended to eight years. Among the powers conferred upon him was the right to appoint judges of the supreme court, to suspend or remove government officials at pleasure, to dissolve Congress, and to promote immigration. In consequence of such clauses Bolivia's fourth Constitution has been characterized as a "military ordinance which should be perused in the glow of the sword that conquered at Ingavi." President Ballivián took

a deep interest in public improvements. He promoted the construction of aqueducts, cathedrals, hospitals, prisons, and roads throughout the republic. He dispatched an agent to England who was instructed to interest capitalists and manufacturers in the development of Bolivia. He equipped expeditions that were directed to determine whether or not the river Pilcomayo would furnish Bolivia an exit to the Atlantic Ocean. He formed projects designed to encourage emigration from Europe. His envoy, José María Linajes, signed a treaty of recognition with the Spanish government on July 21, 1847. Yet Ballivián's arbitrary régime provoked opposition, especially in the army, and in December, 1847, the President resigned his magistracy rather than precipitate a civil war.

General Belzu Becomes President.—It was the news of a rebellion in La Paz led by a valiant general named Manuel I. Belzu that caused Ballivián's resignation. Velasco—who was again proclaimed president—appointed General Belzu secretary of war. In October, 1848, Belzu secretly left Sucre and joined insurrectionary soldiers at Oruro. He decisively defeated Velasco's army at Yamparaez on December 6, 1848. The victorious general soon issued a decree declaring that the Constitution of 1839 was in force but announcing that, in case the President should not be able to perform his duties, the council of state should perform the functions of the chief executive instead of the president of Congress, as provided by that Constitution. Other decrees evinced his desire to win the support of the lower classes against the aristocratic partisans of Ballivián who were designated the *Rojos*. Belzu thus brought a so-called Democratic party into existence. With the aid of aborigines and the army, he suppressed various rebellions. By good luck he escaped death by an assassin's dagger.

His Policies.—In September, 1851, a National Convention brought another Constitution into existence. In some particulars it resembled the Constitution of 1843. The fundamental law of 1851 abolished the national council. It fixed the President's term at five years and gave him wide powers. He was given the right, by way of punishment, to suspend government officials from office for three months. The Constitution gave legislative authority to a Congress composed

of two coördinate houses. It declared that slavery could not exist in Bolivia. In January, 1853, President Belzu issued a notable decree announcing that the waters of all navigable streams flowing through Bolivian territory and emptying into the Amazon and the Paraguay Rivers should be open to navigation by the vessels of all nations. In the following year a census was taken which indicated that Bolivia had 2,326,126 inhabitants, including Indians. In the election of 1855 the chief presidential candidates were Dr. José María Linares and General Jorge Córdova, a disciple of Belzu. Córdova was elected president.

Rise and Fall of Linares.—President Córdova was much harassed by conspiracies and rebellions. A humane ruler, he did not sanction a single execution. In September, 1857, Linares started a revolt in Oruro. Uprisings soon took place in other cities, and, after Córdova had made a vain attempt to suppress the insurrection, he fled to Peru. José María Linares, who thus realized a long-cherished ambition, was a man of great determination and energy. With the support of aristocratic and intelligent political leaders, he hoped to carry out certain reforms. To the cabinet he added a secretary of public improvement. He reduced the emoluments of many officials, made alterations in the system of central and local administration, and divided the republic into three judicial districts. He established a military college and organized a national guard. By a decree providing for the establishment of ecclesiastical seminaries he displayed his intention to reform the manners and customs of the clergy. When signs of opposition to his measures became apparent, on March 31, 1858, Linares issued a decree frankly announcing that he had assumed the powers of a Dictator. The stern, not to say cruel, policy which he pursued toward seditious conspirators intensified the discontent. Bolivian *émigrés* commanded by Belzu and Córdova made irruptions into Bolivia from Peru. Upon the eve of the presidential election, two members of his own cabinet conspired against Linares; and by the aid of military officers in January, 1861, they established a governmental junta. Linares was forced to withdraw from his native land; and a Congress elected General José M. de Achá president.

Anarchy Approaches a Climax.—In August, 1861, a National Constituent Assembly framed the "Political Constitution of the State." This Constitution set the President's term at three years. It established a unicameral legislature and reestablished the council of state. Unusually liberal to foreigners, it declared that all persons within the republic should enjoy civil rights. The massacre of numerous prisoners of state—including ex-President Córdova—by a military commander caused a revulsion of feeling among the populace. Weak and vacillating in character, Achá hesitated to take decisive measures against the author of that mad act.

Mariano Melgarejo.—On December 28, 1864, General Mariano Melgarejo took advantage of the growing dissatisfaction and proclaimed himself president. An intriguing and brutal militarist, Melgarejo showed even less regard for Bolivia's laws and institutions than had his predecessors. Among other measures he speedily proclaimed that the Constitution was abrogated. During the years of his domination the principles of the two political parties, the *Rojos* and the *Colorados*, became even less than the mere battle cries of bitter partisans. Upon the point of being deposed by Belzu—who suddenly returned from exile to place himself at the head of a rebellion in La Paz—Melgarejo slew that rival with his own hand.

Foreign Relations under Melgarejo.—Extremely jealous of his authority at home, Melgarejo did not increase the prestige of his nation abroad. In 1867 he authorized a treaty with Brazil by which Bolivia acknowledged the Empire's title to some sixty thousand square leagues of territory upon the Madeira and Paraguay Rivers. A dispute that had arisen with Chile about the title to the desert of Atacama—a large portion of which was included in Bolivia by the *uti possidetis* of 1810—was adjusted by a treaty signed on August 10, 1866. This treaty stipulated that Bolivia should cede to Chile the zone between the Salado River and the parallel of 24° south latitude from the Andes to the Pacific. The guano discovered between parallels 23° and 25° and the duties levied upon mineral products exported from that zone were to be divided equally between the parties. Chilean products should be exempt from imposts upon entering the Bolivian port of Mejillones. Within the department of Atacama, as well as in

the southern provinces of Peru, energetic Chileans became engaged in the exploitation of nitrate deposits. To the Nitrate Company of Antofagasta—that was domiciled in Chile—Melgarejo conceded the right to exploit for fifteen years nitrate deposits in the desert of Atacama.

His Immediate Successors.—In November, 1870, revolutionists led by Hilarión Daza repudiated the odious rule of Melgarejo and announced that Colonel Agustín Morales was their leader. Morales, who was proclaimed president after the defeat and flight of Melgarejo, declared that his political motto was “more liberty and less government.” After a Constituent Assembly had passed some reformatory laws, Morales assumed dictatorial authority but was soon killed in a quarrel with some military officers. In May, 1873, Adolfo Ballivián, a son of the victor of Ingavi, was inaugurated as president. An outstanding personality, he attempted to reform the disordered finances of his country. He negotiated a treaty of defensive alliance with Peru, but unfortunately died on February 14, 1874. Ballivián’s term was almost completed by Tomás Frías, an old man who had been president of the council of state. His administration was vexed by military uprisings.

Renewal of the Dispute with Chile.—At this juncture a dispute again arose with Chile about the desert of Atacama. In August, 1874, Bolivia and Chile attempted to adjust the dispute by a treaty which stipulated that their boundary line in the desert should be the parallel of 24° —which ran a short distance south of Antofagasta. As a concession to the Chilean government, the Bolivian government agreed that for twenty-five years Chileans who might be engaged in the mining industry in the desert should not be subjected to any additional imposts.

The Tax of Ten Centavos.—On the eve of the presidential election, one of the leading candidates, General Hilarión Daza, who was secretary of war, seized the President and his other secretaries. The subservient populace of the capital city proclaimed Daza president of Bolivia on May 4, 1876. That coup d’état marked the accession of a Dictator whose rule became notorious in South America for corruption, arbitrary imprisonments, and bacchanalian feasts. In February,

1878, he sanctioned a law which had unthinkingly been passed by Congress to the effect that a tax of ten centavos per hundredweight should be laid upon all nitrate exported from the Bolivian littoral. Against this law the Nitrate Company of Antofagasta protested and appealed to the Chilean government. While negotiations were still in progress at La Paz for the adjustment of the dispute, the Bolivian government decided temporarily to rescind its contract with the nitrate company. On February 14, 1879, which was the date set by Bolivia for the sale of the company's property to ensure the payment of the taxes, Chilean soldiers took possession of Antofagasta. Two weeks later Bolivia announced that in consequence a state of war existed between her and Chile. After the Peruvian government had declined to proclaim its neutrality in the struggle, Chile declared war upon Bolivia and Peru. The conflict which ensued has been designated by South Americans as the "War of the Pacific."

The "War of the Pacific."—Even before a declaration of war had been made by Chile, her soldiers had taken possession of the Bolivian port of Cobija, and had captured Calama by assault. Delegating executive authority to the council of state, President Daza hastily led a division of poorly equipped soldiers to Tacna, where he reported to the Peruvian commander, General Mariano Prado. Upon learning of the capture of Pisagua by Chilean soldiers, Daza and Prado decided to make a concerted attack upon the invaders. When, after a toilsome march by way of Arica to the river Camarones, Daza sent a message to Prado declaring that his soldiers refused to advance farther, he was instructed to desist from his march southward. Daza then retreated to Arica. That retrograde movement—*la retirada de Camarones*—was stigmatized as an act of treason by the Bolivians, especially as it was followed by the rout of coöperating Peruvian soldiers at San Francisco. Soon afterwards the Chileans defeated the Peruvian-Bolivian army at Tarapacá. General Daza then formed the resolution to march to La Paz in order to suppress an insurrection; but Bolivian soldiers at Tacna, who were disgusted at his conduct, disavowed his authority and proclaimed that the commander of the Bolivian army in Peru should be Colonel Eliodoro Camacho. As Camacho had

no ambition to become president of Bolivia, he placed himself under the orders of a junta that had been established at La Paz.

General Campero Becomes President.—When he heard of the deposition of President Daza, General Campero, who had been in command of another division of the Bolivian army, proceeded to Oruro. There, by a decree of January 19, 1880, he assumed the provisional presidency of the distracted republic. He soon convoked a Convention at La Paz, which in June elected him president for four years. At that Convention a group of Bolivian leaders—far from the booming of Chilean cannon—framed a centralistic Constitution which was promulgated on October 17, 1880.

Guaranties of the Constitution of 1880.—The Bolivian Constitution of 1880 provided that Roman Catholicism should be the religion of the State. It prohibited the public exercise of any other faith except in frontier territories. Among the guaranties of its bill of rights was an article which declared that slavery should not exist in Bolivia.

The Executive Department.—Executive authority was vested in a President and two Vice-Presidents. Those magistrates should be elected by direct vote to hold office for four years. The President was given the title of captain general of the army: he might even direct a war in person, and could negotiate treaties. He could appoint ambassadors and ecclesiastical dignitaries. He had the right to concur in the enactment of laws, and was given the power to exclude papal bulls and rescripts. He might grant amnesties, commutations of punishment, and pardons. All presidential orders and decrees must be signed by the respective secretary of state. Members of the cabinet might take part in the debates of Congress, but they must withdraw before a vote was taken.

Legislative and Judicial Departments.—Congress was to be composed of a House of Deputies and a Senate. Each department of the republic was to have two Senators elected by direct vote who were to hold office for six years. Exclusive functions of the Senators were to try impeachments and to make nominations to the president for appointments to bishoprics, archbishoprics, and justices of the supreme court. Deputies, who should be chosen in the same way as Senators,

were to hold office for two years. They were granted the exclusive right to impeach the chief national officers and to elect justices of the supreme court upon nomination by the Senate. The Constitution provided that the houses of Congress might sit separately or jointly. In joint session they might consider the resignation of the President, approve or reject treaties which he had negotiated, declare war at his instance, set the strength of the permanent military force, and decide conflicts about the jurisdiction of the supreme court. Acting separately, they were to exercise ordinary legislative powers; such as to levy taxes, to grant subsidies for the construction of railroads, and to authorize the executive to contract loans. The judicial department was to be composed of a supreme court and district courts. Among specific grants of jurisdiction to the supreme court was the power to judge disputes arising from contracts and concessions. In an emergency the President might summon Congress to meet in some other place than the capital of the republic.

Local Government.—The local administrative system which had been founded by General Sucre was, in the main, preserved. The republic was to be divided into departments, provinces, and cantons. A department should be governed by a prefect who was to be the President's agent. Every province should be governed by a subprefect appointed by the President. Each canton should be administered by a *corregidor*, who should be appointed by the prefect upon the nomination of the subprefect. A municipal council should be established in the capital of each department.

Treaty of Valparaiso.—Although General Campero gave to his country a new Constitution, yet he could not prevent Chilean soldiers from conquering the Bolivian littoral. Chileans took possession of the department of Atacama. Campero kept the Bolivian army upon a war footing. At last—after a treaty of peace had been signed between Peru and Chile—at Valparaiso on April 4, 1884, a convention was signed between Chile and Bolivia which was designated as an agreement upon an indefinite truce. The Treaty of Valparaiso declared that the state of belligerency between the parties had terminated, and that neither party might renew

the war without a year's notification to the other party. It stipulated that during the life of the agreement Chile should retain control of the department of Atacama, that is to say, of the conquered Bolivian territory lying between 23° south latitude and the mouth of the river Loa. Chilean products and manufactures should be allowed to enter Bolivia through her former littoral free of duty, while foreign merchandise destined for Bolivia should pay the imposts laid by the Chilean tariff but should not be liable for other duties. Bolivia should receive seventy-five per cent of such imposts for use in part on her indemnities that were due to Chile. By the Treaty of Valparaiso Bolivia reluctantly waived control of valuable territory that was rich in nitrate deposits and that contained her only seaports.

Treaties of 1895 between Bolivia and Chile.—After this treaty was signed President Campero was succeeded by Gregorio Pacheco. He prepared the way for the accession of Aniceto Arce, who became president in 1888. Both of those presidents aimed to stifle all opposition to their rule. The presidency of Arce—who has been described as “a Bolivian Yankee”—was, however, signalized by the opening of a railroad from Antofagasta to Oruro, the first exit by railroad that was afforded to the mediterranean state. Under Arce's successor, Mariano Baptista, on May 18, 1895, two significant treaties were signed between Bolivia and Chile which aimed to settle definitively the territorial problems left open by the Treaty of Valparaiso. One of those treaties proposed that Chile should be definitively assured of the possession of the Bolivian littoral which she had retained. The debts of Bolivia that had been guaranteed by the customs of Arica were to be assumed by Chile. By the other treaty Chile promised that if she secured “dominion and permanent sovereignty” over the provinces of Tacna and Arica by direct negotiations or by a *plébiscite*, she would transfer those provinces to Bolivia. For that cession Bolivia was to pay Chile five million pesos in silver. To accomplish this adjustment Chile promised to use her influence separately or in conjunction with Bolivia to obtain a definite proprietary right over Tacna and Arica. That treaty of peace and transfer of territories

was supplemented by a protocol dated December 8, 1895, which stated that the proposed cession of the Bolivian littoral to Chile was to be without effect, if within two years Chile did not give to Bolivia a port upon the Pacific. In no case were Chile's obligations to be fulfilled without the transfer of a zone and a port to serve as an outlet to Bolivia. Although ratifications of these treaties of May, 1895, were exchanged, yet they were never executed. Upon becoming aware of their existence Peru made strenuous objections to certain of their provisions.

The Revolution of 1899.—In 1896 Severo Alonso, who had been a secretary of Baptista, became president of Bolivia. In December, 1898, because of an attempt of the Conservatives to enact a law that would have made Sucre the permanent capital of the republic—a dignity which, in reality, it had shared at times with La Paz, Cochabamba, and Oruro—the citizens of La Paz declared in favor of a federation and took up arms under Colonel José M. Pando against the government. On January 17, 1899, a battle was fought near La Paz between government soldiers and insurgent forces which resulted in a victory for the revolutionists. In the following April, after another victory over government troops, Colonel Pando entered Oruro in triumph. President Alonso fled to Chile, while Pando organized a provisional government. In this manner, after a struggle that had lasted more than a score of years, the ruling oligarchy was shorn of authority and the so-called Liberal party came into power.

The Dispute about Acre.—Elected president without any opposition, Pando was inaugurated on October 26, 1899. During his administration a long-standing boundary dispute reached a climax. A treaty between Bolivia and Brazil in 1867 had sketched an arbitrary boundary line between those nations through a tropical region in the very heart of South America. Subsequently many Brazilians settled in Bolivian territory adjacent to the boundary line in order to gather rubber. In July, 1899, they rebelled against Bolivian magistrates and proclaimed the existence of an independent state named Acre. A sanguinary struggle took place in that territory between

Bolivian soldiers and Brazilian pioneers. The controversy was settled by the Treaty of Petropolis which was signed on November 17, 1903. The treaty provided that the rich, rubber-bearing territory of Acre should become the property of Brazil after she had paid two million pounds sterling as indemnity to Bolivia. Further, Brazil pledged herself to construct a railroad around the terrible cataracts between São Antonio and Bella Vista in order to connect navigation on the Madeira River in Brazil with navigation on the Bolivian river Mamoré. By the Treaty of Petropolis the Brazilian republic not only secured the clear title to a large region which had been in dispute but, in order to straighten out her frontiers, she also obtained possession of many square miles of territory which had been in Bolivia's possession.

President Montes.—Among the soldiers who had upheld the rights of Bolivia in Acre was a young colonel, Ismael Montes, who had had a varied experience as a journalist, lawyer, and publicist. A commander who had served in the revolution against Alonso, he was chosen as Pando's successor. He was inaugurated president in August, 1904. In internal affairs Montes established a reputation as an energetic and progressive administrator. He encouraged education by establishing new *colegios*, promoted the completion of a railroad from Oruro to Viacha, and improved the credit of the republic. He signed a law which virtually provided that the monetary unit of Bolivia should be the boliviano; and that twelve and one-half bolivianos should be the equivalent of an English pound.

Definitive Cession of Atacama.—In 1903 his government engaged in negotiations for a definitive settlement of the boundaries with Chile. On October 20, 1904, a treaty of peace and amity was signed between Chile and Bolivia. That treaty recognized "the absolute and perpetual possession" by Chile of the Bolivian littoral which she had occupied according to the Treaty of Valparaiso. The limits of Bolivia upon the west were carefully indicated. In order to strengthen the political and commercial relations between the two republics—so ran the treaty—the parties agreed that within one year a railway should

be constructed from Arica to La Paz at the expense of the Chilean government. Upon the expiration of fifteen years after its completion, Chile promised that the ownership of the Bolivian section of the Arica-La Paz railway should be transferred to Bolivia. Further, Chile agreed that, after ratifications of this treaty were exchanged, she would pay Bolivia three hundred thousand pounds sterling. Chile also undertook to meet certain outstanding obligations of Bolivia. She recognized the perpetual right of Bolivia to commercial transit through her territories and ports to the Pacific Ocean. On November 15, 1904, those nations signed a supplementary protocol by which Bolivia recognized the sovereignty of Chile over the territory between the parallels of 23° and 24° from the Argentine boundary to the Pacific Ocean.

Villazón Continues the Policies of Montes.—In August, 1906, a law was enacted providing that the public exercise of other religions than Roman Catholicism should be permitted. In August, 1909, Montes—whose term had been extended by Congress for one year upon the sudden death of the president-elect—was succeeded by Elidoro Villazón. A conciliatory statesman with a varied experience in public life, Villazón aimed to continue the policies that had been promoted by Montes. Important railroads were projected and new telegraph lines were built. The foreign commerce of Bolivia increased; and her revenues steadily augmented. On January 7, 1911, Villazón signed a bill which provided for the establishment of the *Banco de la Nación Boliviano* that soon absorbed three existing banks. Difficulties about the boundary line provoked armed conflicts between Bolivians and Peruvians near the Manuripi River. On December 28, 1912, a protocol was signed between Bolivia and Brazil which relieved Brazil from her pledge in the Treaty of Petropolis to build a spur of the Madeira-Mamoré Railroad from Villa Murinho to Villa Bella. Near the end of Villazón's term, Montes was reelected president.

El Gran Presidente.—Montes was inaugurated for the second time on August 6, 1913. He took various steps to promote the construction of new railroads or the exten-

sion of existing lines. Of economic developments perhaps the most significant was the increased attention which was paid to mining. So pleased were some of the Bolivians with his energetic administration that they styled him *El Gran Presidente*.

Conditions on Eve of World War: Boundary Disputes.

—Partly because of her mediterranean position Bolivia has been vexed by many boundary disputes. As has been indicated, the victory of Chile in the "War of the Pacific" eventually determined the boundary between Bolivia and Chile. A dispute with Argentina about Bolivia's southern boundary was apparently adjusted by a treaty negotiated in 1899; but, as modified three years later, it sketched a line of demarcation which was difficult to survey because of the geographical errors or misconceptions that it incorporated. The task of surveying this boundary was resumed in 1913 and iron posts were set up along parts of the line. In April, 1913, a treaty signed by diplomats of Bolivia and Paraguay at Asunción stipulated that their dispute concerning the ownership of territory on the right bank of the Paraguay River below the mouth of the river Apa should be settled by direct negotiations. Disputes concerning the Bolivian-Peruvian boundary will be considered in connection with Peru.

Social Condition.—Since the War of the Pacific an isolated state, Bolivia has attracted few immigrants. According to a rough enumeration made in 1900—with some allowance for omissions—her population was about 1,700,000. The inhabitants of Bolivia are mainly persons of Indian or Spanish descent or mixed classes. Possibly the creoles, who reside mainly in the towns and cities, constitute one-tenth of the inhabitants. A very large part of the population is made up of pure-blooded Indians, who even in towns near the capital city of La Paz still preserve their clan organization and customs. In frontier districts the aborigines are in a barbarous state. A considerable part of the population in large towns or cities is composed of mixed classes resulting from the intermingling of Spanish and aboriginal blood. Of 78,000 people in the city of La Paz a Bolivian scholar estimated in 1910 that 55,000

were Indians or *mestizos*. Whites and the mixed classes speak Spanish, while the Indians of Bolivia ordinarily use their own dialects. Unnumbered thousands of her people still speak the Aymaran or the Quechuan language. In 1914 the size of her regular army was set at 4,600 men. Bolivia has no navy whatever. The chief occupations of her people are farming, grazing, and mining. Her great mineral wealth is being largely exploited by foreign corporations.

Economic Condition.—In 1915 mineral products constituted over five-sixths of the total value of the exports of Bolivia. Her chief exports in that year amounted to the following sums in bolivianos: tin, 44,885,450; antimony, 13,442,286; rubber, 10,768,937; copper, 14,035,410; bismuth, 3,266,802; silver, 2,982,858; wolfram, 1,497,845; live stock, 792,860; coca, 731,000; hides, 470,852; lead, 353,239; gold, 306,737; alpaca wool, 162,605; coffee, 83,682; quinine, 78,561; and furs, 61,778. The nominal unit of monetary value is the boliviano which is ordinarily worth \$0.389 in United States currency. Bolivia is linked to the outside world by two railways which find their exit to the Pacific at Arica and Antofagasta through territory held by Chile; and by a third railway that passes through Peruvian territory from Lake Titicaca to Mollendo. On June 30, 1919, Bolivia's foreign debt amounted to £3,114,682 sterling which had been floated in France and in the United States in order to promote banking and railway enterprises. Besides this she had an internal debt that aggregated 29,933,636 bolivianos.

Education.—Education in Bolivia is very backward. A Bolivian writer estimated that in 1910 only about one-eighth of his fellow countrymen could read. In 1914 there existed in the republic, according to the report of the secretary of public instruction, over six hundred primary schools. Two years later some fifty-six thousand persons were attending primary, secondary, and normal schools. Higher education was curiously regulated, for each department of the republic had a so-called university which was located at its capital. In some of those institutions the instruction was mainly secondary, as there were few advanced students in attendance. National colleges of

commerce and of medicine were at La Paz, while a national college of law was at Sucre.

Literature.—It is probably chiefly because of the large aboriginal element and the backward condition of Bolivia that her literature is comparatively scant. Some books and pamphlets have been written about important events in Bolivian politics, such as the struggles of political parties, the lives of salient personalities, and the need of an outlet to the sea. Among historical writers Manuel Ordóñez López and Luis S. Crespo have composed a history of Bolivia which unfortunately ends in 1880. Manuel V. Ballivián has made valuable contributions to the knowledge about Bolivia, as in his monograph about the rubber industry. Among Bolivian novels may be mentioned *Casa Solariega*, a romance of Latin-American society by Armando Chirveches. Probably the most illuminating sociological study of twentieth century Andean life is the introspective booklet entitled *Pueblo Enfermo*—a suggestive criticism of Bolivian manners and customs by Alciades Arguedas.

Bolivia and the World War.—Soon after the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Germany because of her ruthless submarine campaign, the Bolivian government expressed its approval of the policy pursued by the government at Washington. On April 13, 1917, Bolivia's secretary of foreign relations sent a note to Germany's representative at La Paz declaring that a ship carrying the Bolivian envoy to Berlin had been sunk by a German torpedo while traversing neutral waters. Hence that secretary gave passports to the Kaiser's agent.

An Outlet to the Pacific.—A publicist and banker who had served as secretary of finance under Montes, José N. Gutiérrez Guerra, was elected president by the Liberals in the campaign of 1917. During his administration the agitation about an outlet to the Pacific Ocean became more and more serious. His secretary of foreign relations assumed the position that the provinces of Tacna and Arica—which Peru had allowed Chile to retain after the War of the Pacific—were not Chilean or Peruvian; that neither Chile nor Peru had a definite right to them; and that Bolivia should be granted an outlet to the Pacific

through a port in those provinces, preferably Arica. Bolivia's claim to this territory was partly based upon economic considerations and geographical proximity, and partly upon the assertion that before the establishment of Bolivian independence Tacna and Arica had been considered as belonging to the audiencia of Charcas. Suppositions that the government of Bolivia was quietly negotiating with Chile for an understanding about an outlet to the ocean evidently helped to precipitate a bloodless revolution at La Paz, where a provisional junta of government was established. On July 13, 1920, that junta issued a decree announcing that it would soon convoke a National Convention composed of delegates chosen by popular vote which would elect a new President, reform the Constitution, and adopt laws to promote the reorganization of the country. President Gutiérrez Guerra was escorted out of Bolivia. Bautista Saavedra, a member of the so-called "Republican" party, was inaugurated as president early in the following year.

Summary.—Among South American nations the republic of Bolivia possesses traits that are unique. Her industry is to a large extent dependent upon the Aymaran and the Quechuan Indians or upon the large, mixed classes called *cholos*. This will remain in a measure true of Bolivia even after her rich, eastern regions have been opened to civilization. For the main habitat of the Bolivian nation is upon a plateau so elevated that the average white man cannot continuously carry on physical labor there, if indeed he can thrive at all. The significant rôle played by the Indians and the mixed classes—who are not only the laborers but also the fighters of the nation—has been vividly illustrated by the military insurrections that have so often rudely disturbed Bolivia's political equilibrium. Those insurrections have occasionally made her institutions appear like the mere shuttlecocks of contending partisans. Aboriginal blood which indubitably coursed the veins of some of her outstanding leaders seems occasionally to have found expression in statesmanship that was bizarre. This, as well as the clever and well-informed diplomacy of her protagonists, has had a deleterious effect

upon Bolivia's territorial ambitions and integrity. Somewhat as Brazilian history has been signalized by repeated accessions of territory, so has the history of Bolivia been checkered by successive losses of outlying regions to which she had a claim. Upon a map of his native land a Bolivian cartographer has indicated those grievous losses by areas which he colored black—in several places his country's present dominions thus appear to have wide borders of mourning. At times storm clouds upon the horizon have even seemed to presage the absorption of other portions of Bolivia by aspiring neighbors. Bolivian nationality is a creature of circumstance.

CHAPTER XIII

PERU

Declaration of Constitutional Principles, 1822.—Modern Peru arose from the viceroyalty of that name. Shortly after the departure of Protector San Martín from Lima, a Constituent Congress which he had convoked became the source of political authority. It soon vested executive power in a junta composed of three persons. On December 16, 1822, Congress adopted the "Bases of the Political Constitution" of Peru. Among its principles was a declaration that the Peruvian provinces combined into one organization composed the nation. Sovereignty was declared to reside in the nation, which was independent of all foreign powers and which could not become the patrimony of any person or family. The nation should be styled the Peruvian Republic: her government should be popular and representative. Her religion should be Roman Catholicism—the exercise of no other faith should be permitted. An essential principle of government was declared to be the separation of executive, legislative, and judicial authority. Executive authority should neither be held for life; nor should it become hereditary. Legislative authority should be vested in a unicameral Congress. A "Senate" composed of men selected by the provinces was to act as an executive council. Judges should hold their offices for life. An enumeration was made of the rights and privileges which Peruvian citizens ought to enjoy. This declaration of constitutional principles forms a prelude to the political life of independent Peru.

The Peruvian Constitution of 1823.—In February, 1823, Congress declared that José de la Riva Agüero should be president of Peru. In June following he was induced to retire from the presidency and two months later José Torre Tagle was made president. On November 12, 1823,

he promulgated a Constitution which Congress had just adopted. That Constitution abolished certain hereditary privileges and prohibited the slave trade. Executive authority was vested in a President who should serve for four years. He was to be aided by three secretaries or ministers of state. Legislative authority was given to a unicameral Congress. Provision was also made for a Senate that was to watch over the execution of the Constitution and the laws, to serve as an advisory council to the President, and to summon Congress upon special occasions. Judicial power was vested in a supreme court, departmental courts, and provincial tribunals. The republic was to be divided into departments, provinces, districts, and parishes. Municipal governments were to be established in the towns and cities. The last section of the Constitution contained a list of political guaranties.

Bolívar as Dictator.—The Peruvian Congress had already declared that Simón Bolívar was the supreme military and political authority of the republic. On November 14, 1823, it enacted a law declaring that any articles of the Constitution which were incompatible with his authority should be suspended. On February 10, 1824, Bolívar was declared to be Supreme Political Chief of the Peruvian nation. A year later Congress extended Bolívar's dictatorship until such a time as Peru's administration should have been definitely organized. In April, 1825, Dictator Bolívar temporarily transferred his authority to a council of government. Upon his return from a trip to Bolivia, in September, 1826, Bolívar renounced the dictatorship of Peru and departed for Colombia. On November 30 of that year the Constitution that he had framed for Bolivia—which had been approved by Peruvian electoral colleges—was declared to be the Constitution of Peru. In June, 1827, however, the Liberator's cherished Constitution was discarded: the Peruvian Congress declared that, with some modifications, the Constitution of 1823 would be provisionally in force.

The Constitution of 1828.—In March, 1828, a Constituent Congress that had been convoked by Santa Cruz, who was president of the council of government, adopted

the "Political Constitution of the Peruvian Republic." This Constitution declared that the nation was not to join any union or federation which would prejudice her independence. Executive power was given to a President whose term should be four years. He was to be aided by secretaries of state whose number should be determined by law. Legislative authority was vested in a Congress composed of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The judiciary was declared to be completely independent. Prefects of departments were made dependent upon the President, while subprefects of provinces were made dependent upon the prefects. *Mayorazgos* were to be abolished. There was a provision that the Constitution should not be altered for five years after its publication but that in July, 1833, a Constitutional Convention should assemble to amend it.

President La Mar.—Under this Constitution, General José de la Mar, who had fought under Sucre in the patriot army at Ayacucho, was elected President. Not only did La Mar dispatch an army against Bolivia, but he became involved in war with Colombia. Eventually the Peruvian army was defeated by General Sucre at the battle of Tarqui and La Mar's hope of annexing southern Colombia was thwarted. A military uprising against La Mar resulted in his deposition and General Gamarra, a native of Cuzco, was elected president. Gamarra was succeeded by an aristocrat named Luis José Orbegosa. It was a stormy age in Peru's history when the National Convention met in September, 1833, to revise the fundamental law. The discussion of proposed changes lasted several months: on June 10, 1834, another Constitution was promulgated. As contrasted with the Constitution of 1828, the Constitution of 1834 differed chiefly in phraseology and minor details. Each department was to be represented by five instead of by three Senators. Instead of a Vice-President, the president of the council of state should act as chief executive in case of the death, absence, or disability of the President. Members of that council might be selected by Congress from persons who were not congressmen. A certain article provided that any person who might become President by sedition or by force was

to lose his political rights and that all his acts should be null and void. While this Constitution was being framed, a reconciliation had been effected among the warring factions.

Intervention of Santa Cruz.—Scarcely had the new Constitution been promulgated, however, when Felipe Salaverry, a talented and ambitious Peruvian, took the leadership in a revolt that broke out in Lima. On February 25, 1835, he proclaimed himself supreme chief of Peru. In the ensuing civil war President Santa Cruz of Bolivia took occasion to intervene on the side of President Orbegosa in order to establish the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, as described in the preceding chapter. After the defeat of Santa Cruz at Yungay, Provisional President Gamarra issued a decree convoking a Congress of delegates to reorganize Peru's political system.

President Gamarra and the Constitution of 1839.—On August 15, 1839, the delegates assembled at Huancayo. A few days later they enacted a law announcing that the Constitution of 1834 was inoperative. They declared that the acts of Santa Cruz and the measures taken by the assemblies of North and South Peru at Sicuani and Huara were null. On November 10, 1839, they adopted a new Constitution. In many particulars the Constitution of 1839 resembled the constitutions of 1828 and 1831. The term of office of the President, however, was extended to six years and he might not be reelected until a presidential term had intervened. The council of state was to be composed of fifteen members selected by Congress. As in the Constitution of 1831, the president of the council should succeed the President of the republic in case of his death, absence, or disability. Judges of the highest courts were to be selected by the chief executive from a list of nominees presented by the council of state. All Peruvians were pronounced equal before the law. A declaration was made that no stranger might acquire land in the republic without assuming thereby the responsibilities of citizenship. This Constitution stated that the nation would not recognize any pact or stipulation with a foreign power which had not been approved by Congress. A leader of the

Peruvian nationalistic movement, Gamarra, was elected president. As elsewhere indicated, shortly afterwards he led an army into Bolivia, but was defeated and killed at the battle of Ingavi.

Ramón Castilla.—In the civil strife that ensued among claimants for the Peruvian presidency, the rising figure was Ramón Castilla, who had served under Sucre and fought at Ingavi. After defeating General Vivanco, who had proclaimed himself supreme director, Castilla was inaugurated president of Peru in April, 1845. An energetic and resolute ruler, he gave his native land tranquillity. For fifteen years he was virtually Dictator. During his first presidential term, from 1845 to 1851, he promoted Peruvian progress in manifold ways. Although some political agitation took place in the southern provinces, yet no concerted uprising occurred against his government. Castilla refrained from persecuting the partisans of Vivanco and even appointed some of them to governmental offices. He reorganized the army and began the task of creating a navy composed of steamships. He took steps to systematize the administration of the nation's finances. Two years after he was inaugurated, a telegraph line was constructed between Callao and Lima; and a few years later a railway was built between those cities.

Guano and Nitrate.—Early in 1849 the Peruvian government made an important contract in London for the exploitation of guano which had been discovered in the Chincha Islands. Soon four hundred thousand tons were exported annually. The exploitation of vast beds of saltpeter in ravines of the province of Tarapacá became a great industry which brought a regular income to the Peruvians. About one million tons of nitrate were exported annually from southern Peru. Castilla was able to pay regularly the interest on the national debt which had been floated in London. He reorganized Peru's internal debt. Along with those measures there occasionally went improvidence: some government offices were well paid sinecures; certain taxes were abolished; and the accounts of some branches of the fiscal administration were poorly kept. A speculative spirit became manifest.

Downfall of Echenique.—In December, 1851, President Echenique announced that the civil code of Peru was to go into force in July, 1852. Soon discontent became rife. Early in 1854, Castilla came forward to lead a revolution. On July 5 he issued a decree abolishing the tribute that had been levied upon the Indians. In October he decreed the immediate emancipation of negro slaves. After Castilla had routed the soldiers of Echenique at La Palma, on January 5, 1855, and after the victor had been elected president, those reforms were sanctioned by Congress. In October, 1855, it enacted a law declaring that the Constitution of 1839 had been abrogated by the national will.

Peru's Constitution of 1856.—Soon after electing Castilla president, Congress proceeded to act as a Constituent Convention. In October, 1856, it adopted a new constitution which, among other features, contained a clause abolishing ecclesiastical *fueros*. After a revolt at Arequipa had been suppressed by the indomitable Castilla, at his instance Congress made alterations in the fundamental law. The constitutional charter which he promulgated on November 13, 1860, was thus a revised edition of the Constitution of 1856.

Constitution of 1860.—The Peruvian Constitution of 1860 stipulated that Roman Catholicism should be professed and protected by the state, and that the public exercise of any other religion should not be permitted. Executive authority should be vested in a President elected by the people for four years in a manner to be prescribed by law. As substitutes for the President a first and second Vice-President were provided. The President was given the right to veto acts of Congress. He was granted control of civil and ecclesiastical patronage and was made commander in chief of the army and navy. He might negotiate treaties and might admit papal rescripts. But the President might neither leave Peruvian territory nor assume personal command of the armed forces of the nation without the consent of Congress. He was to be aided by secretaries of state. Those secretaries should be responsible to Congress: they were granted the right to attend its debates; they were to answer the interpellations

of its members but should withdraw before a vote was taken. Congress was composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies. The number of Senators to be elected from the departments should be in proportion to the respective number of their provinces. At least one deputy should be chosen for every province. Bills might be introduced into Congress by the chief executive and by the supreme court, as well as by congressmen. Among the powers of Congress was the right to accept or to reject the resignation of the President and the right to declare war at his instance. A permanent commission composed of members of Congress was to exercise certain powers when it was not in session. In cursory phrases the Constitution provided that the judicial authority should be vested in a supreme court, superior courts, and justices of the peace.

Local Government.—This Constitution was of the centralistic type. It provided that the republic should be divided into departments and littoral provinces. The departments were subdivided into provinces; and the provinces were carved into districts. Prefects, selected by the President, should govern the departments and the littoral provinces. Subprefects should rule over the provinces, governors over the districts, and lieutenant-governors should be placed wherever necessary. The subprefects should be appointed by the President, while the governors and lieutenant-governors should be appointed by their respective superiors. The Constitution of 1860 served as the fundamental law of Peru for more than half a century.

The War with Spain.—In 1862 General San Román became president. He was soon succeeded by Vice-President Juan A. Pezet who had served in the war for independence and had acted as secretary of war for Castilla. During Pezet's presidency serious difficulties arose with Spain, which had not acknowledged the independence of Peru. Some Spanish citizens still had claims against the Peruvian government because of alleged injuries during the Revolutionary War. An occasion for a serious controversy was furnished in 1863 by a quarrel that occurred between Peruvians and Spaniards upon the hacienda of Talambo. Shortly afterwards a squadron under Admiral

Pinzón—which had been sent from Spain ostensibly on a scientific expedition—anchored in the harbor of Callao. After a special and extraordinary agent of the Spanish government named Salazar y Mazarredo had failed to reach a satisfactory adjustment with the government of Pezet, he reëmbarked and by the aid of Admiral Pinzón seized the Chincha Islands. The controversy seemed to be adjusted by a preliminary treaty of peace and friendship that was signed on January 27, 1865. According to that treaty Spain virtually acknowledged Peru's independence and agreed to return the Chincha Islands, while Peru promised to pay the Spanish claims and also the expenses of Pinzón's expedition. That treaty was repudiated, however, by Peruvian public opinion, and Colonel Mariano I. Prado led an uprising in Arequipa against the government. After this revolution triumphed, Dictator Prado ruptured relations with Spain, and made alliances with Chile, Bolivia, and Ecuador against the motherland. During the ensuing war a naval battle took place near the Chiloé Islands between Spanish frigates and war vessels of the allies. Spanish forces blockaded ports of the allies, attacked Valparaiso, and in May, 1866, bombarded Callao. By the mediation of the United States an armistice was ultimately signed by the belligerent nations at Washington in 1871; and some time afterwards each of the allied nations signed a separate treaty of peace with Spain.

Guano, Loans, and Railroads.—When the difficulties with Spain were in a fair way to be settled, Vice-President Canseco—who had returned from Europe—and Colonel José Balta reëstablished constitutional rule. Colonel Balta became president in 1868. Balta, who had been secretary of war under President Prado, was a vigorous and resourceful leader. He found Peru burdened with a considerable debt, while he lacked funds with which to promote internal improvements. In 1869 he accordingly made an important contract with Dreyfus and Company of Paris: Peru granted the firm a monopoly of the export of guano to the amount of 2,000,000 tons; and Dreyfus agreed to pay that government 350,000 soles for the liquidation of a debt incurred in 1865 and also a bonus of

650,000 soles per month while the guano was being delivered. In 1870 a new loan of 12,000,000 soles was negotiated in Europe; and two years later another loan was floated which funded the outstanding indebtedness; thus Peru's foreign debt was augmented to more than 35,000,000 soles. With these funds the Peruvian government proceeded to improve harbors at Eten, Pisca, and Callao; and it subsidized foreign contractors to construct railroads. In December, 1869, it signed a contract with Henry Meiggs for the construction of a railroad up the steep grade from Callao to Oroya. As early as May, 1868, it had made a contract with Meiggs to subsidize the construction of a railroad from Arequipa to the Pacific Ocean—a railroad which was opened in December, 1870. By other contracts Meiggs agreed to build railways in the Peruvian highlands from Arequipa to Puno and from Juliaca to Cuzco.

Finances under Presidents Pardo and Prado.—Years before those railroads were completed, President Balta had been deposed and murdered. In August, 1872, Manuel Pardo was inaugurated as president. Because of Balta's enormous expenditures, Pardo found the finances of Peru demoralized. Still he arranged for the construction of two new ironclads. To promote economy, however, he reduced the size of the army. President Pardo was succeeded by General Mariano Prado in 1876. During that year a contract was made with consignees for the disposal of guano which was not so favorable to Peru as the contract of 1869. In April, 1877, the Peruvian government issued 20,000,000 soles of inconvertible paper money.

The Defensive Alliance with Bolivia.—Meantime at Lima on February 6, 1873, Peru signed a secret treaty of defensive alliance with Bolivia. The Treaty of Lima provided that the contracting parties were mutually to guarantee their independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity against all foreign aggression, whether of one or more states. In case of acts that tended to deprive a party to this treaty of a portion of her territory, or to induce a party to accept a protectorate, or to lessen the sovereignty of a party, or to alter the government of a

party, the alliance was to become effective. Each party expressly retained the right to judge for herself whether or not an offense that might be committed against her ally should be considered as a *casus fœderis*. Once the alliance had been declared effective, the parties agreed that all diplomatic and commercial relations should be broken off with the offending nation. Arrangements were then to be made concerning the contingent of military or naval forces which the coöperating nation should furnish her ally. The state which was attacked should not be at liberty to celebrate any conventions, truces, or armistices without the consent of her coadjutor. The allies promised to employ whenever feasible every possible conciliatory measure to prevent a rupture of relations or to end a war. Each party agreed not to sign any boundary treaty or other territorial arrangement without having notified the other party. The parties might invite the accession of other American states to the treaty. When Chilean publicists became aware of this alliance, they deemed that it was directed against their nation.

Peru Becomes Involved in "the War of the Pacific."—When the controversy about the activities of Chileans in the desert of Antofagasta culminated in a war between Chile and Bolivia, this alliance led Peru to essay the rôle of a mediator. But the efforts of Peruvian diplomats were fruitless. After Peru had declined to proclaim her neutrality, the Chilean government—which claimed to have been just informed of the secret treaty of alliance between Bolivia and Peru—declared war upon the allies on April 5, 1879.

Chile Defeats the Allies.—Although the war nominally lasted from February, 1879, until April, 1884, yet the actual conflict by land and sea was brief. By the destruction of the Peruvian warship "Huascar" in October, 1879, Chile made herself mistress of the Pacific. As indicated in the preceding chapter, her soldiers soon overran the Peruvian provinces of Tarapacá, Tacna, and Arica which were defended by soldiers of the allies. President Prado was replaced by Nicolás de Piérola, who had been secretary of the treasury. An attempt by the United States to mediate between the belligerent nations failed. On January 13, 1881, the Chilean army defeated Peruvian soldiers at Chorillos, near Callao. Two days later

the invaders broke the second line of Peruvian defenses at Miraflores. Nicolás de Piérola, who had become dictator, fled from Lima which was soon occupied by the exultant victors.

The Treaty of Ancón.—Chile terminated the war by the negotiation of separate conventions with the vanquished nations. At Ancón, on October 20, 1883, a treaty of peace and friendship was signed between Chile and Peru. By the Treaty of Ancón the Peruvian republic ceded to Chile outright the province of Tarapacá, while she allowed the provinces of Tacna and Arica to remain in the control of the conqueror upon the express condition that within ten years their inhabitants should be allowed to determine by *plébiscite* whether they wished to live under the rule of Chile or of Peru. The nation which thus secured possession of those provinces was to pay ten million Chilean pesos or their equivalent to the other party. A special protocol was to establish the mode in which the referendum should be taken. The Lobos Islands were to remain in the possession of Chile until one million tons of guano had been furnished; they were then to be returned to Peru: the net proceeds derived from the exploitation of the guano deposits during the Chilean occupation were to be divided between the contracting parties.

Significant Results of the War.—The War of the Pacific was a most important event in South American history. Chile gained the extensive nitrate desert and retained control of two adjacent provinces of southern Peru. Bolivia was deprived of valuable territory which contained her only seaports. Peru apparently lost one province irretrievably, and, for the time being at least, she waived the control of two other provinces that had likewise become sources of special income. For Peru the War of the Pacific seemed to spell national collapse. Chile gained an outlet for her enterprise and capital in territory that was rich in resources, territory which she thought essential to her future security and the best pledge of a lasting peace. Certain Peruvians have likened the provinces of Tacna and Arica to Alsace-Lorraine.

Peru after the Treaty of Ancón.—Peruvian history since the Treaty of Ancón has been in large part the story of recuperation and readjustment. The itinerant government of

Miguel Iglesias, which negotiated that treaty, was overturned in December, 1885, by General Cáceres, who served as president of Peru from 1886 to 1890. During his presidency the foreign debt of Peru was funded and assumed by a society of her bondholders called the Peruvian Corporation. That corporation relieved Peru of all responsibility for her loans of 1869, 1870, and 1872: in return Peru ceded to it her railroads and guano deposits for sixty-six years. In 1889 a confidential agent was dispatched from Santiago to Lima to present a plan for the adjustment of the future of Tacna and Arica. He proposed that Chile should pay Peru an indemnity of about one million pounds, while Peru was to cede the two provinces to Chile at once. The Peruvian government declined to entertain the proposition.

The "Question of the Pacific."—Cáceres was succeeded by Colonel Morales Bermúdez. He was the candidate of the "Civil Party" which favored order and stability against militarism. During his administration other attempts were made to settle the fate of Tacna and Arica. In 1892 the Peruvian government sent a special agent to Santiago with a proposal that his government would make certain commercial concessions to Chile in return for sovereignty over the lost provinces. During the following year Peru proposed that for purpose of the *plébiscite* Tacna and Arica should be divided: Peru should direct the election in one portion; and Chile in the other. If the election proved favorable to Peru in both zones, she was to pay the stipulated indemnity by admitting Chilean goods free of duties for twenty-five years; if Peru won the election in only one zone, she was to admit Chilean goods free for twenty years. In 1894 Peru proposed the following bases for a protocol: the referendum should be taken under conditions acceptable to both governments; the nation securing the provinces should pay the stipulated sum in bonds bearing interest at four and one-half per cent; and the Chilean-Peruvian frontiers were to be rectified. No one of those solutions was adopted, however, and, when the ten-year period elapsed on March 28, 1894, no decision had been reached about the referendum.

Mooted Points in 1894.—It is worth while to notice the chief points of agreement and disagreement at that juncture.

Chile and Peru agreed that a referendum should be taken to determine the future nationality of the people of Tacna and Arica. Yet they could not agree as to who should administer the two provinces when the ten years had elapsed. The Peruvian government argued that Peru ought to be given control of them, while the Chilean government maintained that Chile should retain them; thus the disputants differed as to the nation that should direct the referendum. Peru wished the vote to be public; Chile wished it to be secret. Neither could they agree as to who should be permitted to vote in the proposed elections. Peru insisted that only natural-born inhabitants of Tacna and Arica should vote. On the other side, Chile wished to allow all residents of those provinces to vote, including her citizens.

The Billinghurst-La Torre Protocol.—By an exchange of telegrams in 1898 the two nations most nearly approached a settlement of the mooted points in the Billinghurst-La Torre Protocol. This virtually provided that the disputed points concerning the *plébiscite* should be submitted to the arbitration of the Queen of Spain. Ten million Chilean pesos or their equivalent should be paid to the loser within ten years by the nation securing the territory in dispute. The payment of that sum was to be guaranteed by the customs of Arica. The protocol was approved by Peru; it was sanctioned by the Senate of Chile; but her Chamber of Deputies rejected it, and suggested that the controversy should be adjusted by direct negotiations instead of by arbitration.

Piérola's Reforms.—Meantime a transformation had taken place in Peruvian politics. The Democratic party, a radical group whose members sometimes entertained revolutionary doctrines, had changed its political principles. So far had it altered its views that in March, 1895, it secured the support of members of the Civil Party in a revolution led by Nicolás de Piérola which deposed the President of Peru. In September of that year Piérola was elected president. An efficient administrator, he promoted fiscal and religious reforms. During his presidency a series of steps was taken that looked toward the adoption of the gold standard. Eventually a law of December, 1897, authorized the mintage of a gold coin called the libra which was to be of the same weight

and value as the English pound. In the same month a law was enacted providing that marriages might legally be solemnized before civil magistrates; in 1899 it was supplemented by a decree providing for the legalization of marriages that had already been performed in Peru by Protestant ministers. The Peruvian military academy was reorganized under the direction of French officers. At Lima the construction of several important public buildings was undertaken.

Internal and International Problems under Romaña.—Piérولا was succeeded by Eduardo de Romaña in 1899. During his term of office the Democratic party drew away from the Civil party. The Democrats became outspoken opponents of the administration. At this time capitalists in the United States took steps to mine the enormous deposits of copper ore at Cerro de Pasco. With respect to Tacna and Arica, Romaña declared that Peru could not agree to her "own dismemberment." Complications developed with Ecuador about the disputed boundary in the Mainas region. Under Miguel Candamo, who was elected in 1903 by a combination of the followers of General Cáceres—who were denominated Constitutionals—and the Civil party, a controversy arose with Brazil because of an unsettled boundary.

Tacna and Arica.—After José Pardo had become president following the death of Candamo in 1904, fresh difficulties arose about Peru's boundaries. Certain clauses of the treaty by which Bolivia definitively ceded the department of Atacama to Chile provoked a protest from the Peruvian government which declared that the provisions of that treaty could not diminish its rights to Tacna and Arica. Nevertheless the Chileans undertook to assimilate those provinces in various ways. They established schools, periodicals, military law, and courts in the province of Tacna—as they eventually designated the disputed territories. Their purpose was evidently to create and to strengthen definite Chilean interests in that region. Peru naturally objected to this policy of Chileanization, maintaining that, in reality, Chile's possession of the territory was only temporary. As time passed, Chile altered her contentions respecting Tacna. In November, 1908, soon after August B. Leguía had succeeded Pardo, Chile's authorized spokesman declared that the *plébiscite* clause of

the Treaty of Ancón was really a disguised cession; that, as holding dominion over the disputed territory, Chile had the right to direct the referendum; that, as Tacna was of vital importance to the northern frontier of Chile, she could not submit the disputed points to arbitration; and that she would be justified in abrogating the clause in the Treaty of Ancón about the referendum because an agreement concerning its execution was impossible.

The Putumayo Atrocities.—Under Guillermo Billinghurst, a former mayor of Lima who became president in 1912, the condition of the aborigines in the extensive frontier region drained by the Putumayo River became the object of public solicitude. In that territory a Peruvian company that was financed mainly by English capital had been gathering rubber through the employment of Huitoto Indians. Complaints about their treatment led to the appointment by President Leguía of a commissioner to investigate, and also to the appointment by the English government of Roger Casement as consul to Peru. The Peruvian Congress protested against this mission because it seemed to menace intervention. After Casement's report upon the Putumayo atrocities—which rivaled those of the Belgians in the Congo—became known, the government of Peru took steps to improve the condition of the oppressed Indians.

Revolutionary Disturbances. — Political discontent, which had been occasionally manifested under previous presidents, reached a climax under Billinghurst whose arbitrary rule stimulated the disaffection. Rumors of his project for the settlement of the long-standing dispute with Chile about Tacna and Arica somehow provoked suspicions that he was unduly favorable to Peru's former antagonist. After the President had suspended the publication of a newspaper which served as the organ of the opposition and had arrested some prominent politicians, early on the morning of February 4, 1914, Colonel Oscar Benavides and other military leaders boldly seized Billinghurst, forced him to resign, and deported him to Chile. Despite the opposition of the Vice-President, the provisional government which the revolutionists organized was promptly acknowledged by Peruvian authorities as

legal. The United States and leading nations of Latin America soon recognized the Benavides régime.

Conditions on Eve of World War: Boundary Disputes.

—As Peru was the heir of the viceroyalty of that name, she naturally had many boundary difficulties. With Bolivia a grievous dispute developed because of conflicting claims to territory occupied by the Chuncha and Moxo Indians. In 1902 Peru and Bolivia agreed to a treaty which provided that this controversy should be submitted to the arbitration of Argentina upon the express condition that she should confirm Bolivia's title to any territory over which the *audiencia* of Charcas had exercised jurisdiction. When the Argentine President divided the controverted territory between Bolivia and Peru, the former nation strenuously protested, declared that the award was not according to the terms of the treaty of arbitration, and refused to accept the boundary which had been sketched. A subsequent treaty between the contending parties in 1909 readjusted this boundary more to Bolivia's satisfaction, and provided for its exact delimitation. Six years later posts had been set up along this boundary line. Peru's long-standing controversy with Brazil was settled by a treaty signed on September 8, 1909. By that treaty Peru acknowledged the jurisdiction of Brazil over certain portions of the territory of Acre. Further, Peru recognized Brazilian sovereignty over some other territory which she had also claimed. Between the two parties this treaty drew a jagged boundary line which stretched in a northwesterly direction from the river Acre to the Yavarí River. As Peru's disputes concerning boundaries with Ecuador and Colombia are entangled with Colombian and Ecuadorian history, a consideration of those controversies will be postponed.

Immigration.—Immigration from other countries than Spain has played a small part in Peruvian development. Although some Germans and Italians settled in Peru, yet the main European element in her population remained the Spanish. Negroes and persons of negro descent were found in many of her coastal valleys. About the middle of the nineteenth century Chinese immigration to Peru began. It has been estimated that between 1861 and 1872 some fifty-

eight thousand Chinese landed on Peruvian soil. They ordinarily came under contract to serve as laborers for a term of years. As certain publicists saw a danger in Chinese immigration, in 1873 the Peruvian Congress passed a law which provided that such contracts should be registered in Peru and enforced. Still, this law declared that Peru offered conditions suitable to every type of emigrant and to every kind of industry. In 1893 a law was enacted providing that free transportation, agricultural tools, and grants of land should be offered to European immigrants to Peru. As the immigration of laborers from China became a serious problem, in May, 1909, the Peruvian government issued a decree prohibiting the entrance into Peru of Chinese who had less than five hundred libras in cash.

Population.—A careful Peruvian scholar named Alejandro Garland calculated that in 1906 Peru's population was about 3,500,000 souls. According to his calculations the most densely populated region was the Andean plateau, while the most thinly populated area was the tropical trans-Andean forest. Garland estimated that in 1906 the population was composed of the following elements: aborigines, 50 per cent; whites—chiefly of Spanish descent—15 per cent; negroes, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; Chinese and Japanese, 1 per cent; and "various ethnic cross-breeds," $31\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1914 the population was probably over 4,000,000. Although Spanish is the language of the educated classes in Peru, yet it appears that Indian dialects are used by the majority of her people. Many Peruvians speak the language that was imposed by the conquering Incas, while others use the Aymaran language.

Army and Navy.—By a law of December 27, 1896, with certain exceptions, Peruvian male citizens from nineteen to fifty years of age were made liable for military service. Ten years later the actual size of the regular army was about four thousand men. It had been efficiently reorganized under the direction of French military officers. Peruvian officers were trained in a military high school and in a military academy. After serving in the regular army three or four years, conscripts regularly passed into the first reserve, where they remained until they reached the age of thirty. The second reserve was composed of men between the ages of thirty and

thirty-five. Among Peruvian military officers there were seven generals and ninety-nine brevet colonels. In 1907 Peru was actively engaged in reconstructing her navy. Her two best cruisers were the "Almirante Grau" and the "Coronel Bolognesi"; besides these she had the cruiser "Lima" and some transports. In 1914 the Peruvian navy included about a dozen warships.

Chief Occupations.—The chief occupation in Peru is agriculture. Scattered through the coastal region are numerous plantations of cotton and sugar cane. Cereals and potatoes are raised upon the Andean plateau. Cacao, coffee, and crude rubber are the chief products of the wooded eastern slopes of the Andes. Very few minerals are not found in Peru. Peruvian miners are the Indians of the mountains, while the capital and the managerial talent for the development of the mines are generally furnished by foreigners. A few factories of cotton and woolen goods have been established at Arequipa and Lima. Other manufactures are beverages, cigars, cigarettes, chocolate, and "Panama hats."

Exports.—Official statistics show that in 1914 Peru exported animal products which amounted to 750,518 libras. The three most important items in that category were the wool of sheep, alpaca wool, and various kinds of hides. In 1914 Peru exported vegetable products which amounted to 4,894,699 libras, the most valuable items being sugar, cotton, rubber, rice, cacao, and straw hats. In that year Peru exported mineral products, largely copper and silver, which amounted to 3,073,865 libras. The unit of monetary value is the libra, a beautiful gold coin—legally the equivalent of ten soles—which has served alike as the basis of internal trade and international exchange.

Transportation. — In transportation facilities Peru stands between Chile and Bolivia. Peru is in communication with the Atlantic by steam vessels which ply the upper affluents of the Amazon. Ocean vessels are not so useful to her as to Chile, because she has fewer ports. A Peruvian steamship company furnishes regular service between Callao and Panama. Peru has no longitudinal railroad. She has two great trans-Andean lines: one that runs from Mollendo to Lake Titicaca, and thence to Cuzco; and the other that runs from Callao to

Oroya, and thence to Cerro de Pasco. The ownership of those railways is in large part vested in the Peruvian government. Because of the lofty cordilleras, the cost of transporting freight by land between certain sections of Peru is enormous. In the Andean region of Peru, as in Bolivia, the llama is still the common beast of burden. Llamas and Indians are there the agents of transportation.

Education.—Primary education in Peru, originally in the hands of local authorities, has been taken over by the national government. In 1901 the Peruvian President sanctioned a law which regulated primary, secondary, and higher education. Primary education, which extended over five years, was made obligatory for boys between the ages of six and fourteen and for girls between six and twelve. Secondary education was placed under the direct control of the secretary of public instruction, justice, and religion. The law of 1901 provided two different types of secondary schools, the *colegio* and the *liceo*. The *colegio* or academy was intended to be preparatory to higher education, while the *liceo* was designed to prepare pupils for the practical arts, as agriculture, mining, commerce, and mechanical industry.

Universities.—Higher education was carried on in four universities and in other national institutions. Among the latter are an engineering school, an agricultural college, and a school of industrial arts. By the law of 1901 Peruvian universities were divided into two classes; that is to say, major and minor. Minor universities, composed of at least two colleges, are located at Arequipa, Cuzco, and Trujillo. The only major university is the renowned University of San Marcos at Lima which has six colleges: theology, jurisprudence, medicine, philosophy and letters, mathematics and natural sciences, and political and administrative sciences. This institution derives its revenue from appropriations by the Peruvian government and from an endowment due to private donations. It has been an important factor in the intellectual life of Peru.

Peruvian Literature.—Peru has a literature that is rich and varied. Mariano Melgar, a poet of Arequipa, introduced the melancholy note of the Indian into Peruvian literature. In three comedies Felipe Pardo depicted society in the ancient capital of the Peruvian viceroyalty; and in a satirical news-

paper called *Espejo de mi tierra* he ridiculed Castilla's attempts at democratic reform. A dozen comedies that dealt mainly with the life and manners of Peru were written by Manuel A. Segura. *Al Misti* by Manuel Castillo of Arequipa was a poetic tribute to the wonderful mountain that towers above his native city. Pedro Paz Soldán y Unanue was a versatile poet who subscribed himself "Juan de Arona." He seemed equally at home describing Peruvian birds and flowers in *Ruinas*, mocking the achievements of Admiral Pinzón in *La Pinzonada*, and depicting the Peruvian environment in *Cuadros y episodios peruanos*. In *Paginas diplomáticas del Perú* he made a useful contribution to the diplomatic history of his native land. *La epopeya del Morro*, in which José Santos Chocano chanted about the heroism of his compatriots during the siege of Arica by Chilean soldiers, made him the poet of the Peruvian nation. In *Alma América: Poemas Indo-Españoles*, he became the poet of Spanish America. A Peruvian littérateur has aptly characterized Ricardo Palma as the most representative writer of the Peruvian creoles. From verse he passed into prose in 1863 with the publication of the first volumes of his *Tradiciones Peruanos*. In these volumes Palma ran the gamut of Peruvian history from the age of the Incas to his own time in a quest for anecdotes which he clothed in literary form and enveloped in the proper atmosphere. The best work of fiction written by a Peruvian was perhaps Florinda Matto de Turner's *Aves sin nido*, a novel describing the servile life of the Peruvian Indians. Among historical writers of Peru since 1821 two deserve the highest rank: General Manuel de Mendiburu and Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán. In his voluminous *Diccionario histórico-biográfico del Perú en la época de la dominación española* Mendiburu produced an encyclopaedic work of profound learning. A documented work of a serious type was Paz Soldán's *Historia del Perú independiente* and also his *Guerra del Chile contra el Perú y Bolivia*. Two illuminating volumes about Peruvian literature have been composed by José de la Riva Agüero, a descendant of Bolívar's rival.

Peru and the World War.—Benavides was still provisional president when the World War began. Early in August, 1914, the Peruvian government declared a moratorium

for thirty days. After José Pardo had again become president, international complications threatened to involve Peru in the struggle. The announcement of an unrestricted submarine policy by Germany reached Lima at a critical juncture. A Peruvian bark named the "Lorton" had just been torpedoed by a German submarine near the Spanish coast. On February 10, 1917, Peru's secretary of foreign relations protested against Germany's submarine policy and declared that it was contrary to international law. An interchange of notes took place between the chanceries of Peru and Germany in which the Imperial government ingenuously offered to present the Peruvian claim for an indemnity to a German prize court. Peru refused to submit her claim to such a court: she asked the German Imperial government to pay an indemnity and damages. In October, 1917, the Peruvian government decided to terminate the fruitless negotiations concerning the "Lorton." The secretary of foreign relations accordingly appeared in Congress and proposed that it should sanction the rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany. After an animated debate, the proposal was approved on October 5 by a vote of 105 to 6. Upon the following day the German minister in Lima was given his passports. In a cablegram to the government at Washington Secretary Tudela declared that his nation earnestly desired "continental solidarity" in regard to the World War.

Peru's New Constitution: Social Guaranties.—Under Augusto B. Leguía, who became president again in August, 1919, a movement for constitutional reform triumphed. A new Peruvian Constitution, which had been adopted by a National Assembly on December 27, 1919, was put into force on January 18, 1920. This Constitution declared that only the state had the right to establish monopolies, that disputes between capital and labor must be arbitrated, and that indemnities must be paid to workmen for accidents incurred while engaged in their respective occupations. It provided for a graduated income tax. It prohibited the issue of irredeemable paper money except when the nation was involved in a foreign war. In general, with regard to the ownership of property, aliens were declared to have the same rights and privileges as Peruvians. The Constitution of 1919 contained many pro-

visions concerning social welfare. The state was to protect the aborigines and to promote their development. Military service was declared to be obligatory upon all male Peruvians. Primary education was declared to be compulsory for children over six years of age.

Frame of Government.—Although the Peruvian Constitution of 1919 allowed the administrative subdivisions that had been sanctioned in 1860 to persist, yet it altered the frame of government. It stipulated that congressmen, as well as the President, should be elected by direct popular vote and should hold office for five years. In case of the death, incapacity, or resignation of the chief executive, Congress should elect a new President. The Senate should be composed of thirty-five members, while the House of Deputies should be composed of one hundred and ten members. If a member of either house should accept a post in the President's cabinet, his privileges as a congressman should be suspended. Still, a cabinet member might participate in congressional debates. He could not remain in office, however, after either house of Congress had expressed a lack of confidence in him. Congress was granted the right to sanction annually a budget for the ensuing year. The Senate was given the right to confirm the appointment of cabinet members and diplomatic officers. As in the Constitution of 1860, the President was given the right to initiate laws. The initiative in laws concerning the judiciary was accorded to the supreme court which was given supervision over all the judicial tribunals of the nation.

Regional Legislatures.—A striking innovation was the provision that there should be three regional legislatures to be located in the north, the center, and the south of Peru. Those legislatures, which were to be composed of deputies elected by the respective provinces, should meet annually and might frame regulations concerning local affairs. Such regulations must, however, be transmitted to the President: if he considered them contrary to national laws or inimical to the public welfare, he should submit them to Congress for adoption or rejection, as in the case of a law which he had vetoed. In reality, therefore, this concession to sectionalism accorded to regional legislatures the right to initiate laws for the nation.

Summary.—Like Chile, Peru set out upon her independent career with a social organization that was fundamentally aristocratic. An aristocratic tendency has been displayed in her political and social life from that time until the present day. This tendency has not been discouraged by the fact that some of the most important Peruvian industries have been of such a character as to foster undemocratic organization. The existence of large plantations, of extensive guano deposits, and of mines of copper and silver which have been exploited by semi-servile labor has promoted a hierarchical arrangement of society. Of this politicians have not been slow to take advantage. Peruvian constitutions have abounded in abstract conceptions of liberty and democracy that have been entertained but not always practiced by the makers of these constitutions. In Peru, as in Bolivia, the hewers of wood and the carriers of water have been the aborigines or their descendants. In recent decades to supplement the Indians there have come to Peru immigrants from the Orient who have mainly settled in coastal towns and cities. The chief clue to the recent political and international history of Peru is, of course, to be found in the deliberate and sustained attempt that has been made to recuperate from the losses due to the disastrous War of the Pacific. It appears to be the opinion of certain Peruvians that their government's diplomacy has been grievously hampered by the efforts of Chilean publicists internationally to isolate Peru. Possibly the most promising sign in recent Peruvian politics has been the definite appearance of an assertive proletariat that is profoundly dissatisfied with its political and social heritage.

CHAPTER XIV

NEW GRANADA OR COLOMBIA

The First Constitution of "Great Colombia."—The national history of New Granada or Colombia, as that state is now called, springs from "Great Colombia"—the nation that was formed by the union of the former viceroyalty of New Granada with the former captaincy general of Venezuela and the former presidency of Quito. A Constitution adopted for "Great Colombia" by the Congress of Cúcuta in 1821 provided for executive, legislative, and judicial departments. It vested executive authority in a President who in a crisis should have absolute power. He should hold his office for four years and might be reëlected only once without an intermission. In case the President acted as commander in chief of the army, his civil functions should devolve upon the Vice-President. Supreme judicial authority was vested in a high court of justice. The Congress of Cúcuta also enacted some reformatory laws. Bogotá was made the capital of the state. The slave trade was abolished; children born of slaves were declared to be free. The tribute levied upon aborigines was abolished; and they were declared to be upon the same status as other citizens of the republic. On September 7, 1821, Congress elected Bolívar president of Colombia: he accepted upon condition that the chief civil authority should be exercised by Vice-President Francisco de Paula Santander, an able and aspiring native of the viceroyalty of New Granada.

Vice-President Santander.—Accordingly from 1822 to 1826—while Bolívar was liberating the presidency of Quito and the viceroyalty of Peru—Vice-President Santander acted as the Colombian president. In 1823 Congress authorized the negotiation of a loan of thirty thousand pesos in Europe. During the following year it sanctioned treaties of confederation which Joaquín Mosquera had negotiated with Peru and Chile.

It divided the territory of the republic into twelve departments that were subdivided into provinces and cantons. In June, 1824, it enacted a law providing that the department of Cauca should be separated from the department of Ecuador by the Carchi River. A census taken in 1825 indicated that the republic contained 2,583,799 inhabitants.

Páez in Venezuela.—During the following year a serious accusation was brought before Congress against General Páez, commandant-general of two Venezuelan departments; namely, that he had ordered soldiers forcibly to conscript men. Despite the advice of Santander, who urged that the accused general should be heard in his own defense, Congress suspended him from his command. As a result the discontent which had been provoked in Venezuela by the choice of Bogotá as capital of the republic was intensified. Spurred on by dissatisfied Venezuelans, in May, 1826, Páez openly rebelled against the government. At the instance of the municipal council of Valencia, he assumed the command from which he had been suspended. When he heard of Páez's rebellion, Bolívar left Peru for Colombia; he arrived at Bogotá on November 14, 1826, whence he soon departed for Venezuela. At Puerto Cabello on January 1, 1827, Bolívar published a decree of amnesty which announced that General Páez was restored to his command. Páez responded by acknowledging the authority of Bolívar and by revoking an invitation which he had issued for the convocation of an assembly of Venezuelan delegates at Valencia.

Civil Dissensions.—Still, the republic which Bolívar had founded was torn by factions. Certain Colombians evidently thought that a solution for their political ills would be to acclaim the Liberator as Emperor. Although Bolívar did not publicly favor that project—which was suggested to him several times—yet he was not loath to assume dictatorial authority. Upon his return to Bogotá, in February, 1828, he issued decrees announcing that he was invested with extraordinary authority in certain portions of the republic, and declaring that he would retain the exercise of his regular powers. Bolívar thus deprived Santander of the functions which he had for some time exercised. In April, 1828, delegates who had been convoked by Congress assembled at Ocaña in order to

revise the Constitution. At the Convention of Ocaña the partisans of Bolívar could make no adjustment with their opponents, who were followers of his rival, Santander. Eventually some delegates even walked out of the Convention, which was soon dissolved. On the night of September 25, 1828, an unsuccessful attempt was made by political enemies to assassinate Bolívar, who was almost alone in the national palace. Suspicion fell upon Santander, whose death penalty was, however, commuted into exile. Peruvian soldiers who invaded the southern part of the republic were repelled at Tarqui. In November, 1829, an Assembly at Caracas resolved that Venezuela should separate from Colombia.

Colombia's Constitution of 1830.—A Constituent Congress that Bolívar had convoked at Bogotá tried to prevent the disruption of the republic. In April, 1830, it framed a fundamental law that was designed to replace the Constitution of Cúcuta. The Constitution of 1830 stated that the territory of Colombia comprised the provinces formerly included in the captaincy general of Venezuela as well as those formerly included in the viceroyalty of New Granada. While retaining, in general, the political framework provided by the Constitution of 1821, yet it contained some innovations. It created a council of state which was to serve as an advisory body to the President. It contained clauses that defined the rights and duties of Colombian citizens. It declared that Roman Catholicism was the religion of the republic, and that in the exercise of the patronage the government should protect that religion and should not tolerate the public worship of any other faith. Apparently as a concession to the spirit of sectionalism, the Constitution granted to each department the privilege of holding an assembly that could enact local and municipal ordinances and could represent the department in matters concerning the general interests of the republic. It conceded to the capitals of provinces the right to organize municipal councils. Yet the administration of the departments was left to prefects who were appointed by the national government. After adopting the Constitution, Congress declared that, if the Venezuelans proposed modifications of it, another Convention would be convoked in order to consider amendments; that if the Venezuelans should reject it and insist upon a separation from the

people living in the former viceroyalty the remaining nucleus of Colombia would not make war upon them but would take steps to assemble a new Convention to frame another Constitution.

Disruption of "Great Colombia."—On March 1, 1830, Bolívar relinquished his position as president. Weary and disillusioned, he died at Santa Marta of pulmonary consumption on December 17, 1830. Even before the Liberator expired, Colombia had broken into three fragments. In January, 1830, General Páez had invited a convention of delegates from the former captaincy general of Venezuela to meet in April at Valencia. In August of the same year a movement for the secession of the former presidency of Quito from Colombia culminated in a Convention of delegates from its provinces at Riobamba: thus the state of Ecuador began to emerge. In November, 1831, a Convention at Bogotá announced that the central provinces of Colombia constituted a state designated New Granada which was to be composed of the territories that had formerly been part of the viceroyalty of New Granada. Further, it declared that the central Colombian provinces which had been reorganized as New Granada would assume their proportionate share of the debt incurred by "Great Colombia" during the wars for independence.

The First Constitution of New Granada.—In December, 1831, this Convention decided that, for the time being, the state of New Granada should be governed by Colombia's Constitution of 1830. On February 29, 1832, it adopted a new fundamental law. The first "Constitution of the State of New Granada" vested executive authority in a President who was to be chosen for four years by electoral assemblies and who might not be reëlected until four years had elapsed. It placed some restrictions on the President's power. In case of need the Vice-President should act as the chief magistrate. It provided that the President's cabinet should be composed of three members. A council of state, composed of seven members elected by Congress, was also to act as an advisory body to the President. Congress was to be composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Senators should hold their offices for four years, while Representatives should serve for two years. Each province should be entitled to at least one Senator.

Judicial authority was vested in a supreme court and in district tribunals. The territory of the republic was carved into provinces which were to be composed of cantons. Each province was to be administered by a governor who should serve as an agent of the national administration. Every canton was to be in charge of a "political chief" who should be an agent of the respective governor. Many clauses attempted to define precisely the qualifications of magistrates and the rights and privileges of Granadan citizens.

President Santander.—After the Constitution had been framed the Convention elected as president General Santander, who returned from exile and assumed authority on October 7, 1832. Admiring fellow citizens have called him "the man of law." In a proclamation which he issued to his fellow countrymen the President expressed his intention to govern in accordance with the Constitution and the laws. A conspiracy against the government led by General Sardá was ruthlessly suppressed. On December 23, 1834, representatives of Venezuela and New Granada signed an agreement for the division of the debt of "Great Colombia." It provided that fifty per cent of the debt should be paid by New Granada, twenty-eight and one-half per cent by Venezuela, and the remainder by Ecuador. The same negotiators signed a treaty of amity, alliance, commerce, navigation, and limits which provided that the *uti possidetis* of 1810 should be the determining principle in respect to the boundaries of New Granada and Venezuela. The Venezuelan Congress, however, refused to approve the treaty; and a dispute soon arose between the parties about their limits. In May, 1834, the Congress of New Granada passed a law which provided that in official documents to replace the name "State of New Granada," there should be used the title "Republic of New Granada." At the same time Congress adopted a new coat of arms and a national flag. By various measures Santander promoted public education, science, and art. He re-established the National Academy which aimed to increase and to diffuse knowledge. A learned Granadan named Joaquín Acosta was placed in charge of the astronomical observatory at Bogotá.

Political Factions.—During the presidency of Santander political factions definitely appeared in New Granada. A party

composed of his followers maintained that the country needed a military man as president. On the other hand, a moderate group of the Civil Party supported as a candidate for the presidency, José de Márquez, an able and conciliatory statesman. Another party was composed of Bolívar's disciples who were sometimes denominated *Bolivianos*. Aided by the *Bolivianos*, the *Civilistas* elected Márquez as president. He was inaugurated on April 1, 1837. In the same year Congress enacted laws that granted to Spanish commerce the same privileges in ports of New Granada as were enjoyed by the commerce of other friendly nations with which she did not have treaties. In 1839 a decree of Congress that suppressed certain monasteries provoked an insurrection in the province of Pasto, which proved to be the beginning of a series of desolating and fratricidal civil wars.

Constitution of 1843.—The republic was not pacified until after Pedro A. Herrán, who was leading the government forces against the rebels, was elected president in 1842. A significant result of the internecine strife was a conviction on the part of some statesmen of New Granada that their Constitution did not confer sufficient authority upon the national government. Prominent among such thinkers was José R. Mosquera, who presented to Congress the project of a new fundamental law. After some discussion, Congress adopted the "Political Constitution of the Republic of New Granada" which was promulgated on April 20, 1843. As contrasted with the previous Constitution, the Constitution of 1843 increased the power and influence of the President, who was given the right to appoint and remove national officers, including the governors of provinces. A bill vetoed by the President should remain in suspense until the following year when it might be passed over his veto by a two-thirds majority in both houses of Congress. An article of the Constitution declared that the chief executive should be responsible for his official conduct under certain circumstances. A personage designated by Congress was to act as chief magistrate in case of the death or disability of both President and Vice-President. The council of state was virtually replaced by a council of government made up of the Vice-President and the secretaries of state. Those secretaries were given the right to introduce bills into

Congress and to participate in its discussions. In the year following the adoption of this Constitution a law was sanctioned which authorized the reestablishment in New Granada of the Society of Jesus. Some Jesuits soon returned to Bogotá.

Progress under President Mosquera.—In 1845 a military hero named Tomás de Mosquera became president. Of him it has been said that he first came to power because of the support of a party which desired peace and progress. From 1845 to 1849 he promoted material development in manifold ways. He initiated negotiations with French engineers for the construction of a railroad across the Isthmus of Panama. In 1846 he negotiated with the United States a commercial treaty which contained significant stipulations. By Article XXXV of the Treaty of 1846 New Granada guaranteed to the United States and her citizens the right to transit across the Isthmus. In return the United States guaranteed to New Granada "the perfect neutrality" of the Isthmus of Panama and her "rights of property and sovereignty" over it. During the presidency of Mosquera steamers began to navigate the Magdalena River. He vigorously strove to improve his country's finances: at his instance in 1846 and 1847 Congress passed laws which reformed the monetary system. Colonial and foreign monies that had been in circulation were replaced by national currency: a peso of ten reales took the place of the *macuquino* peso of Peru and Mexico; and gold coins of various denominations were soon minted. On April 28, 1847, a law was enacted which prohibited the importation of slaves into the republic and which declared that all slaves introduced should become free. Partly as a result of these measures a democratic clique came into existence which styled itself the Liberal party, while Mosquera's supporters were ordinarily called Conservatives.

The Liberals in Power.—The Presidency of General José H. López, another warrior of the Revolution who became chief magistrate in 1849, was a period of radical reform. Incited by the Liberals, on May 21, 1850, the President ordered that the Jesuits should be expelled from the republic. In the same year López made a contract with the Italian geographer, Agostino Codazzi, for a geographical survey of New Granada. As a climax to a series of laws that had aimed to

ameliorate the condition of negro slaves, on May 21, 1851, a law was enacted which stipulated that all slaves in New Granada should be free after January 1, 1852, and that the owners of emancipated slaves were to be compensated. A law of April, 1852, announced that the rivers of New Granada should be open to navigation by merchant vessels of foreign nations. In April, 1853, General Obando, the candidate of a Liberal faction, was installed as president. During the previous month the way had been prepared for constitutional alterations by a law outlining the procedure by which the Constitution might be changed by legislative act. On May 20, 1853, Congress adopted a brief but significant Constitution which was promulgated upon the following day. It embodied some of the legal and political doctrines of the dominant political party.

The Constitution of 1853.—Probably the most liberal Constitution which had been adopted in Latin America, its preamble explicitly invoked the name of the people, as well as the name of God. The Constitution of 1853 stated that all persons born on the soil of New Granada were citizens of that country, as were also their children. It declared that, except in times of war, private property should not be taken for public use without compensation. It promised to all citizens the free exercise of any religion they might profess, provided that they did not disturb the public peace, offend morals, or interfere with the religious practices of others. It guaranteed the free expression of thought and the absolute liberty of the press. Jury trial was guaranteed in certain criminal cases. Slavery was prohibited. The right to vote was conceded to every citizen. No qualifications for office, except for President or Vice-President, were required beyond citizenship. With regard to the administration of the republic, this Constitution stipulated that municipal authority in its entire extent should be reserved to the provinces. The authority of the national government was also reduced by a provision that among important officials who should be elected by popular vote were the provincial governors. Further, each province was granted the power to make arrangements for its own organization and administration. Article XXVII made possible the amendment of the Constitution by the action of two successive congresses.

Obando Succeeded by Mallarino.—In June, 1853, Congress enacted laws which stipulated that Church and State should be completely separated. Dissensions between political parties became so bitter that in April, 1854, Congress was dissolved by revolutionists, and President Obando was imprisoned. That Oedipus of Granadan history was soon accused of treason and deprived of his magistracy. He was succeeded by Vice-President Manuel Mallarino, whose administration opened auspiciously. On January 28, 1855, the first railroad train crossed the Isthmus of Panama.

The "Granadan Confederation."—During the same year Congress adopted a constitutional amendment which purported to introduce the federal system into New Granada. The amendment provided that the Isthmus of Panama should be a federal state and declared that any other province of New Granada might be similarly transformed. In 1856 and 1857 laws were enacted which created other federal states. Under President Mariano Ospina, who was inaugurated on April 1, 1857, Congress reorganized the governmental system by the adoption of a new Constitution for the republic which was now styled the "Granadan Confederation." That Constitution was promulgated on May 22, 1858; it transformed a unitary-federal nation composed of eight states into a Confederation. Executive power was given to a President who should be elected by popular vote for four years. Legislative authority was vested in a Congress composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Judicial power was granted to the Senate and also to the supreme court and other tribunals. The national government and the state governments were prohibited from performing certain acts. The states were to be organized under a representative system. They were declared to have all powers which by the Constitution were not delegated to the confederate government. Strange though it may seem, the powers of that government were not defined.

The Revolt of Mosquera.—Shortly after this Constitution went into operation, a law providing for the scrutiny of election returns by national officers provoked intense opposition. In 1860 Congress enacted a law which declared that under certain circumstances state officials were responsible to the national judiciary for the disturbance of public tranquillity.

Soon afterwards General Mosquera, who had become a Liberal and was governor of the state of Cauca, declared his opposition to the law, and issued a decree announcing that his state had assumed her sovereign powers. Similar steps were taken in other states. After several conflicts between revolutionary soldiers and the army of the Confederation, on July 18, 1861, Mosquera captured Bogotá. The conquering general assumed the title of Provisional President of the United States of New Granada.

His Kulturkampf.—As the climax of a stirring career the years from 1861 to 1867 have occasionally been designated "the Age of Mosquera." At once the Provisional President instituted radical politico-religious reforms. He announced that no priest might exercise his functions without the consent of the State. He declared that the Jesuits—who had again been recalled to New Granada—were to be expelled and confiscated their property. He ordered that the archbishop of Bogotá should be imprisoned because of non-compliance with decrees concerning the clergy. Property held in the dead hands of religious corporations or communities was to revert to the nation. All convents, monasteries, and religious houses were to be suppressed.

The United States of Colombia.—A so-called Congress of Plenipotentiaries of the states that the President convoked in September, 1861, promulgated a *Pacto de Unión* which declared that seven sovereign and independent states were confederated into a nation denominated the "United States of Colombia." Mosquera also convoked a Convention to reform the Constitution. When a civil war had terminated, that Convention—which was composed of victorious Liberals—assembled in the city of Rionegro (Antioquia), and on May 8, 1863, it adopted a new Constitution. In the preamble the name of the people was invoked, while God was not mentioned. The "Political Constitution of the United States of Colombia," as it was styled, guaranteed freedom of religion. This Constitution announced that the sovereign states had confederated themselves into a free, sovereign, and independent nation. It declared that, with certain limitations, the states should control their respective local governments. All powers which were not expressly delegated to the general government should be

reserved to the states. The President, who should hold his office for two years, was to be elected by the states, one vote being cast by each state. Congress should be composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Judges of the federal supreme court should be selected by Congress from lists of nominees made by the legislatures of the states. The Constitution could only be amended by the unanimous ratification of the Senate, when each state was to have one vote. It prohibited the national government from levying war against the states without the express authorization of Congress and without having exhausted all possible means of conciliation. In a commentary upon the Constitution of Rionegro a Colombian lawyer sagely declared that the powers of the national government were so organized in it that they seemed like guests who were scarcely tolerated in the constitutional mansion.

Opposition of the Conservatives.—In accordance with a provisional act of the Convention, Mosquera was elected president of the republic until April, 1864. The states soon framed their respective constitutions under the new régime. At this juncture the Colombian Congress adopted civil and commercial codes. Mosquera, who was reëlected president in 1866, was soon accused of malfeasance in office, cast into prison, and exiled in 1867. A most significant tendency of the following years was the development of violent opposition by the Conservatives to the policy of the Liberals. The Conservatives clung to tradition and became a clerical party, while the Liberals constituted a party of reform which was opposed to the influence of the Church in politics. In 1876, shortly after a Liberal named Aquileo Parra, whose candidacy was supported by the government, had been made president, certain Conservatives took up arms in behalf of their politico-religious tenets. Organized opposition to the national government developed in the state of Cauca; and, encouraged by certain provisions of the national Constitution, similar movements soon took place in other states. To paraphrase a Liberal writer, many melancholy pages were thus added to the sanguinary history of Colombia's party struggles.

Problems Confronting President Núñez.—In 1880 the Liberals decided to support the candidacy for president of a versatile and influential politician named Rafael Núñez, who

was apparently a Liberal. A journalist and publicist who was an original thinker, as president of the Senate in 1878, Núñez had publicly declared that Colombia was confronted by a dilemma: either she would have to undertake a fundamental political reorganization or she would suffer a catastrophe. Fiscal embarrassments, the legacy of former presidents, were partly responsible for the dissatisfaction of some Liberals with his first administration. Núñez cut down the size of the army and took other measures to reduce expenses. Protracted negotiations between Colombia and Costa Rica for the settlement of a boundary dispute culminated on December 25, 1880, in the negotiation of a treaty which stipulated that the controversy should be submitted to arbitration. On September 14, 1881, diplomats of Colombia and Venezuela signed a convention by which those nations agreed to submit their dispute about boundaries to the arbitration of the Spanish king, whose government had just recognized Colombia's independence.

Núñez and Political Reform.—After making way for his successor, Dr. F. J. Zaldúa, in 1882, Núñez published a series of articles in *El Porvenir*—a journal of Cartagena—in which he advocated the creation of a political party that would dedicate itself to the task of political reconstruction. Reëlected president of the republic in 1884, he became the leader of a new party which was composed of Independents who had separated from the radical Liberals and joined the Conservatives to form the so-called Nationalists. It soon became clear that Núñez had become a clerical leader. Armed strife which broke out between the Nationalists and the extreme Liberals he suppressed by defeating the radicals. Taking his cue from the political antecedents of the Constitution of Rionegro, on September 10, 1885, President Núñez issued a decree which invited the governors of the states to send delegates to Bogotá to deliberate in a "National Council" about the reform of the Constitution.

The "National Council."—This Convention, which was composed of Independents and Nationalists, assembled at Bogotá on November 11, 1885. To it the President made a trenchant address about political reform. He declared that the political achievements of the Colombians for the preceding quarter of a century had all been destructive. He said that the

proposed constitution should be in sharp contrast with the charter of 1863: that legislation and administration should be nationalistic; that the main object of the educational system should be the inculcation of Christian doctrine; and that anarchy should be succeeded by order. On November 30 the Council promulgated an act that suggested the bases of the contemplated reforms. The act declared that the nation should be designated the "Republic of Colombia" and announced that the National Council would proceed to act as a Constituent Assembly whose constitutional project, when approved by the President, would become the fundamental law. This act was approved by the municipalities of the republic. On August 4, 1886, the Council adopted a Constitution which was sanctioned by the chief executive upon the following day. It was the fruit of many compromises and concessions.

Constitution of 1886.—The preamble of Colombia's Constitution of 1886 proclaimed that God was the supreme fountain of all authority. Its first article announced that Colombia was a centralistic republic. The states which had composed the union were now designated departments. Roman Catholicism was declared to be the religion of the nation; public magistrates were charged to give it protection and to cause it to be respected as an essential factor in the social order. Religious buildings should be exempt from taxation. Public education should be managed in accordance with the Catholic religion. The President—elected like the Vice-President for six years by direct vote—was given the right to issue decrees having the force of laws. Between him and Congress the members of his cabinet should be the organs of communication: they might introduce bills into Congress, and take part in its debates. In case of need, a *Designado*—a personage selected by Congress—should serve as the President's substitute. Congress should be composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate was given the right to accept or reject the President's resignation. Judicial authority was vested in a supreme court, district courts, and inferior courts. In each department the chief executive, who was designated governor, should act as the agent of the national government.

Its Significance.—Colombia's Constitution of 1886 illustrates tendencies that were significant. It symbolized the tri-

umph of the Clerical or Conservative party. It unmistakably recognized the primacy of the Catholic Church, strengthened the hands of the central government, and reëstablished the unity of the nation. In December, 1885, the National Council had proclaimed Núñez as the first president under the projected constitution. In April, 1887, he promulgated a new civil code which soon went into effect.

Núñez Negotiates a Concordat.—As President Núñez was at times absent from Bogotá—presumably because of bad health—his post was occasionally filled by a substitute. In June, 1887, he assumed the presidency for a short period. At that juncture he authorized the negotiation of an agreement with the Papacy, which was signed on December 31, 1887, and sanctioned by Congress in 1888. The Concordat stipulated that the Catholic Church in Colombia should be independent of the civil power; that, as a juridical personage, the Church should have the right to acquire, to possess, and to manage property; that the Church should have the privilege to establish in Colombia religious orders of either sex that could be governed by their respective constitutions; that the President of Colombia should have the right to nominate personages for appointment by the Holy See to vacant bishoprics; that marriages canonically performed by Catholic priests should be recognized by the civil law; that cemeteries should be under the administration of ecclesiastical authorities; that the State should compensate the Church for properties that it had lost by confiscation; and that education in Colombia's schools, academies, and universities should be conducted in accordance with Catholic dogmas.

Politico-Religious Wars.—The Anti-Clericals or Liberals continued to struggle against the readjustment of political and religious forces for several years. Núñez was reëlected in 1892, but he was merely the titular president: Miguel A. Caro, a littérateur who had been chosen vice-president, acted as president. Upon the death of Núñez in September, 1894, Caro became president, and in the following year he suppressed an insurrection of the Liberals. Four years later he was succeeded by Manuel A. Sanclemente, an aged lawyer and publicist who was a member of the so-called National party. During the following year the government suppressed another

Liberal revolt. In the night of July 31, 1900, Vice-President José M. Marroquin, who was a Conservative, boldly assumed the President's power, and prominent Conservatives quickly imprisoned Sanclemente in his own house at some distance from Bogotá. Those measures added fuel to a fierce civil war that was already raging. Still, Marroquin retained the President's authority; and the war ended in June, 1903, in another defeat for the Liberals.

The Loss of Panama.—To a Congress which assembled while the passions that had been stirred by this conflict still ran high, the government submitted a treaty with the United States about the Isthmus of Panama. Known from its negotiators as the Hay-Herrán Treaty, it conceded to the United States the right to use a narrow strip of land across the Isthmus for a canal in return for a cash payment of ten million dollars and an annuity of a quarter of a million. Although ratified by the United States Senate, it was rejected by the Colombian Senate. On November 3, 1903, an insurrection broke out in Panama City. Its leaders promptly declared that the Isthmus was independent of Colombia. Under color of a clause in the Treaty of 1846 with New Granada the President of the United States sent orders to his war vessels to prevent Colombian soldiers from landing upon the Isthmus. A few days later President Roosevelt acknowledged the independence of the republic of Panama. Despite the protests of Colombia, that based her claims upon the Treaty of 1846, the United States government refused to submit the dispute about its proceedings in the Panama affair to arbitration. It made a treaty with the new republic by which it secured, in return for a money payment, the title to a zone of land for the construction of a canal.

Attempt to Settle the Resulting Dispute.—Colombia sent an able publicist named General Rafael Reyes to Washington to secure redress for the loss of Panama. His negotiations were vain. Secretary Hay assumed the view that the United States now had obligations to Panama by the Treaty of 1846 instead of to Colombia. He refused to submit the political questions that had arisen between the United States and Colombia to The Hague for arbitration.

President Reyes Assumes Dictatorial Powers.—Shortly after his return to Bogotá from Washington, General Reyes was elected president. He was inaugurated on August 7, 1904. A domineering personality, some acquaintance with the rule of Porfirio Díaz in Mexico had convinced him that his desolated and demoralized country could be transformed by a similar régime. He soon took steps to reorganize the finances, to promote industry, and to encourage the construction of railroads. Attempts of political antagonists to use Vice-President González Valencia against Reyes precipitated the Vice-President's resignation. The President placed serious restrictions upon the liberty of the press. As he felt Congress to be an incubus upon his efforts, Reyes arbitrarily dissolved that body. On February 1, 1905, he issued a decree convoking a "National Assembly" that was to be composed of delegates selected by departmental juntas under the direction of the respective governors. Evidently at his instance this extra-legal Assembly usurped the functions of Congress. By a series of acts, in March and April, 1905, it made alterations in the Constitution. Among other amendments it declared that the Assembly itself should continue to exercise legislative functions until February 1, 1908; that the offices of Vice-President and *Designado* should be abolished; that the council of state should be swept away; that the Constitution could be amended by a National Assembly convoked for this purpose; and that the term of office of President Reyes should be extended until December 31, 1914. By a decree of the National Assembly in April, 1907, the further announcement was made that Congress would not meet until February 1, 1910.

He Attempts to Adjust the Panama Affair.—In 1909 through an agent named Enrique Cortés, who was dispatched to Washington, Reyes made another attempt to settle the troublesome dispute with the United States about Panama. A convention was negotiated between Cortés and Secretary of State Elihu Root. Treaties were also arranged between the United States and Panama and between Panama and Colombia. In connection with those treaties the Cortés-Root Convention provided that Colombia should recognize the independence of Panama, that the Treaty of 1846 between Colombia and the United States should be abrogated, and that

Colombia should declare Panama to be free of all indebtedness incurred upon her behalf before November, 1903. This convention also stipulated that Panama should pay to Colombia two hundred and fifty thousand dollars annually from the cash payments that would be made according to treaty stipulations by the United States to Panama.

His Enforced Resignation.—Public opinion in Bogotá, however, disapproved of this adjustment which legalized the loss of Colombia's most precious possession by a monetary recompense that was deemed inadequate. Caviling critics asserted that the convention with the United States veiled a covert menace to their nation's territorial integrity. In the cloisters of the national university and in legislative halls the most determined opposition was displayed. Intense dissatisfaction with the proposed adjustment furnished an occasion for fierce denunciations of the policies of Reyes. Hence, in May, 1909, the President reluctantly decided to withdraw the conventions from consideration by the Assembly; and he issued a manifesto announcing that he had postponed their discussion until the regular session of Congress in February, 1910. So threatening were the demonstrations against the autocrat, however, that at last Reyes definitively resigned the presidency and departed from his native land.

Constitutional Reforms in 1910.—In August, 1909, the National Assembly elected General Ramón González Valencia provisional president. In his message to that Assembly in May, 1910, President González Valencia pointed out the imperative necessity of modifying the fundamental law. Soon afterwards a number of important amendments were made by that Assembly to the Colombian Constitution. Capital punishment was prohibited. Only those citizens able to read and write who owned real estate or who possessed an income should be permitted to vote in presidential or congressional elections. The President's term was again limited to four years. Congress was annually to elect two personages called the *Primero Designado* and the *Segundo Designado* who should—in case the President was unable to serve because of death, resignation, or demotion by judicial sentence—exercise the executive authority in the designated order. Senators were to be chosen by electoral councils that should be elected

by the respective departmental assemblies. The Senate was to determine when the President was physically incapacitated to perform his functions. The supreme court was conceded the right to decide whether or not a law should be enforced that either the national government or any citizen had stigmatized as unconstitutional.

The Jesuits and Higher Education.—An important contract concerning higher education was signed on January 19, 1910, between the superior of the Society of Jesus and the minister of public instruction of Colombia. This contract provided that the Jesuits should be left in control of the buildings and the incomes of the *Colegio de San Bartolomé* for eighteen years. During that period the national government promised not to occupy these buildings, even for purposes of war. The padres of the society were to continue to offer the courses of study, which according to a decree of October, 1886, constituted the College of Philosophy and Letters of Colombia. Such courses were to be considered university courses: the College of San Bartolomé was accordingly authorized to confer the degree of bachelor in philosophy and letters. Other Jesuit colleges within the republic that had the same plan of studies were granted the same authorization. Jesuit fathers were given the power to fix the conditions of entrance, to outline the courses of study, and even to select the text books to be used. Although the government was to furnish the equipment for such instruction, yet it was not to interfere in the teaching or the management of such colleges. The Jesuit fathers were to enjoy "complete independence." Many Liberals resented this agreement which conceded to the Jesuits control over important branches of higher education.

President Restrepo.—Carlos E. Restrepo, a journalist and publicist of the progressive city of Medellín, was elected president of Colombia in July, 1910. Inaugurated in the following month, he declared that he was neither the chief of any political party nor the pontiff of any sect and that he had the welfare of the entire nation at heart. By decrees of October 14 and 18, 1910, he created the office of inspector-general of public instruction, and aimed to bring all grades of public instruction within the republic under the supervision of the national government. By decrees of October 24 he directed

that instruction in Colombian geography and history should everywhere be given by Colombian teachers and ordered that the council which had been charged with organizing the curricula of colleges and universities, should be reestablished. He signed laws that provided for the reestablishment of the departmental assemblies, which had fallen into disuse in the dictatorship of Reyes. Restrepo took measures to rehabilitate Colombia's finances. At the end of his term he set a good example by his refusal to stand for reelection.

President Concha.—In February, 1914, a Conservative named José V. Concha was elected president. In selecting the members of his cabinet President Concha gave representation to the Liberals. During his administration Congress reestablished the council of state. Like Restrepo, Concha had to deal with the reorganization of the nation's finances.

The Thompson-Urrutia Treaty.—President Concha also made a well-considered attempt to settle the dispute with the United States about Panama. On April 6, 1914, Francisco J. Urrutia, Colombia's secretary of foreign relations, and Thaddeus A. Thompson, minister of the United States, signed a treaty of reconciliation. The Thompson-Urrutia Treaty contained expressions of regret by the United States government for the differences which had risen between itself and the Colombian government because of Panama. The treaty accorded to Colombia exceptional privileges in the use of the Panama Canal or the Panama Railroad as a commercial highway between her Atlantic and Pacific seaboards. Colombia was to acknowledge the independence of Panama and to negotiate with her a treaty of peace and friendship. Not of least importance to Colombians, the treaty provided that the United States should pay to Colombia twenty-five million dollars as an indemnity for injuries caused by Panama's independence. After some discussion by a law dated June 9, 1914, the Colombian Congress solemnly sanctioned the Thompson-Urrutia Treaty. Upon more than one occasion President Wilson urged the United States Senate to ratify this treaty; but that body did not accede to his wishes largely because of the apologetic phrases, which certain Republicans considered as a reflection upon Roosevelt.

Conditions on Eve of World War: Boundary Disputes.

—The opening of the present century did not see all the boundary disputes of Colombia adjusted. Disputes with her sisters, Ecuador and Venezuela, will be considered in connection with the history of those nations. On September 11, 1900, President Loubet of France, after carefully considering the evidence and the arguments that had been submitted to him, pronounced his arbitral award in the boundary controversy between Colombia and Costa Rica. In his decision the French President sketched a boundary line between those two nations which assigned to Costa Rica some territory on the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans that had been claimed by Colombia. Negotiations were in progress definitely to demarcate that line when Panama rebelled and established an independent government. An important step was taken toward an adjustment of the limits between Colombia and Brazil—which had been under consideration by both governments since 1826—by the negotiation of a treaty between them in April, 1907, that sketched a boundary between their coterminous territories and provided for the appointment of a mixed commission which was to survey the line exactly. By this treaty Colombia relinquished to Brazil territories which she had claimed around the mouth of the river Caquetá and near the headwaters of the Río Negro. The long-standing boundary dispute between Colombia and Peru harks back to colonial days, when the Spanish government vaguely indicated the bounds between the viceroyalties of New Granada and Peru. After the defeat of the Peruvian invaders at the battle of Tarqui the governments of Colombia and Peru signed a treaty at Guayaquil by which they agreed to recognize as the boundaries of their respective territories the line that had separated the former viceroyalties of Peru and New Granada. Upon the southwest that line was marked by the Tumbes River. Provision was made for the choice of a joint commission which was to demarcate the boundary exactly but—partly because of the disruption of "Great Colombia"—it was never surveyed. This boundary problem was inherited by Ecuador. Many fruitless negotiations have since taken place between Peru and Colombia about valuable territory near the Putumayo River which is claimed by both nations.

Population.—Although congresses of New Granada and Colombia passed laws which aimed to encourage immigration, yet few immigrants settled in that region. According to the census of 1912 Colombia had a population of 5,072,604. The two main elements in the population remain the same as in viceregal days: that is to say, the aborigines and Spaniards. Many inhabitants are of mixed descent. In coastal regions a trace of negro blood may be found. The language of the cultured, as well as of the official, classes is Spanish. Citizens of Bogotá speak the language of Cervantes with a musical intonation that is all their own.

Army and Navy.—The President is the commander in chief of the army of Colombia and may even direct it in person. In 1914 the Colombian army was composed of some fourteen thousand men who were assigned to posts in the three military zones into which the country was divided. According to law every Colombian citizen between twenty-one and forty years of age, with certain exceptions, might be compelled to serve in the regular army or the reserves. Colombia had a military school that was under the direction of the secretary of war. She had a navy of nine vessels with a personnel of some eight hundred men.

Economic Condition.—The main occupations are agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and commerce. Statistics of exportation will suggest Colombia's economic condition. In 1915, according to the report of her secretary of the treasury, Colombia exported products which amounted to 28,643,322 pesos. To omit from consideration money exported and certain miscellaneous articles, the chief exports were classified as follows: vegetable products, 17,584,547 pesos; mineral products, 6,336,742 pesos; animal products, 2,990,601 pesos; manufactured products, 1,110,709 pesos; and live animals, 83,599 pesos. The important items in Colombia's export trade were: coffee, gold, hides, bananas, straw hats, tobacco, and rubber. Colombia had passed from the régime of irredeemable paper currency to a gold standard. Her monetary unit was the gold peso, which was worth one-fifth of an English pound. She only had about six hundred miles of railroad lines that were of different gauges and did not even furnish the links for a railroad system. Before the outbreak of the World War, several

lines of steamships connected Cartagena and Santa Marta with Europe and the United States. The main artery for interior traffic was the Magdalena River.

Education.—The census of 1912 indicated that about fifty per cent of the population of the republic was illiterate. Education has been under the control of the secretary of public instruction, who was assisted by an inspector in each department. Those officials supervised the public schools as well as the private and the ecclesiastical schools that received financial aid from the national government. Primary education was directly in charge of the respective departments and municipalities. In important towns the clergy maintained parochial schools; and in frontier districts they supported missionaries who were employed in converting and teaching the Indians. There were schools of arts and trades in Bogotá and also a school of commerce. Academies were found in the largest towns. Normal schools were located in the capitals of departments. After much fluctuation a college of medicine and natural science, a college of mathematics and civil engineering, and a college of law and political science had been established at Bogotá which were directly under the control of the national government. The Colombian college of philosophy and letters, however, remained in clerical hands.

Literature.—Colombia has produced a literature notable in Latin America. Its history to 1820 may be followed in the book by Vergara y Vergara entitled *Historia de la literatura en Nueva Granada*. Historical writers have flourished in Colombia. Among those, José M. Restrepo holds a prominent place because of his classic *Historia de la revolución de Colombia*. General Joaquín Acosta wrote a *Compendio histórico del descubrimiento y colonización de la Nueva Granada*, which has been very useful to students of the Spanish conquest. In his *Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada*, José Manuel Groot told the history of New Granada to the opening of the struggle for independence. That work was supplemented by the *Memorias para la historia de la Nueva Granada* by José Antonio de Plaza. Early in the present century the National Academy of History, under the auspices of the government, began to publish the *Biblioteca de historia nacional*, a series of volumes edited or written by well-known authors like Pedro M.

Ibañez, which form a collection that is indispensable to every serious student of Colombian history. Among the writings of the publicist Salvador Camacho Roldán should be mentioned his *Notas de viaje*. Jorge Isaacs, the son of a Jamaican Jew who settled in the Cauca Valley, is reckoned the prince of Colombian novelists; his masterpiece was *María*, a romantic story of plantation life. Among Colombia's poets José E. Caro was best known through his poem *La bandera colombiana* and his apostrophe to the picturesque falls of Tequendama. A poet as well as a soldier, Julio Arboleda—who was assassinated during the revolution of 1860—left fragments of a national epic entitled *Gonzalo de Oyon* which sang of the Spanish conquest. A versatile native of Bogotá named Rafael Pombo wrote *El Bambuco* and translated poems from English into Spanish. Rufino José Cuervo wrote scholarly grammatical and philological treatises.

Fine Arts.—The term "New Athens" which certain writers have given to Bogotá because of the number and merit of her literary productions could not rightly be conferred because of her achievements in the fine arts. An academy of music was founded at Bogotá about 1882. Four years later a school of fine arts was opened in that city. In parks of the capital are a number of handsome statues of revolutionary heroes, some of which are by Colombian artists. More than one national artist has attempted to portray the quiet beauty of the adjacent *sabana*. Among paintings of religious subjects by Colombians may be mentioned Ricardo Acebedo Bernal's *Mater Dolorosa* and his picture of *San Marcos*, which adorns the cupola of the cathedral. A painting of historical interest is J. M. Zamorra's *Campana libertadora de 1819*, which depicts Bolívar and his officers fording the river Apure. Some artistic productions of Colombians are kept in a modest gallery of fine arts in the capital city.

Political Tendencies.—Political parties in Colombia have remained as aligned in the struggles that culminated in the existing Constitution and the Concordat. As in the days of Mosquera's dictatorship, the struggle is a species of *Kulturkampf*, with the difference that the Conservative or Clerical party now holds the reins of power. A significant constitutional tendency has been the use by Colombian presidents of a

custom established by President Núñez; namely, the convocation of national assemblies whose members have been appointed by departmental authorities. When he summoned such an assembly in 1905, the President stated that the justification for his act was found not in the Constitution but in the supreme law of necessity. This practice has stimulated a tendency toward centralization in Colombia. The departments have declined in constitutional importance—especially as their revenues have been pitifully small—while the national government has become well-nigh dominant.

Colombia's Attitude Toward the World War.—During the administration of President Concha the World War and its issues affected the politics and the life of Colombia. On August 13, 1914, Marco Fidel Suárez, her able secretary of foreign relations, addressed instructions to the governors of the littoral departments directing them to observe certain rules concerning vessels of the belligerent nations in order that Colombia's neutrality might be ensured. Three months later that secretary sent a circular to Colombian editors advising them to be strictly neutral. Upon being officially informed of Germany's intention to renew an unrestricted submarine campaign, he informed Germany's envoy at Bogotá that his government reserved the right to protest against the destruction of neutral property and innocent lives and also to demand justice. On June 2, 1917, he issued an announcement that his government intended to remain neutral in the war between the United States and Germany. Although some persons have attributed Colombia's attitude in the World War to pique at the delay of the United States to ratify the Thompson-Urrutia Treaty, yet it was her remoteness from the titanic struggle, as well as the fact that her merchant vessels were not affected by the German submarine campaign, that kept Colombia aloof from the struggle and enabled her to pursue a policy of neutrality.

President Marco Fidel Suárez.—In October, 1917, Marco Fidel Suárez—whom the Conservatives had nominated for the presidency—resigned from Concha's cabinet. The ex-secretary was elected president in February, 1918, and inaugurated on August 7. On April 20, 1921, omitting the apologetic clauses and with other modifications, the Senate of the United States approved the Thompson-Urrutia Treaty.

By it Colombia was still pledged to recognize Panama. The modified treaty accorded to Colombia fewer commercial privileges in the use of the Panama Canal or the Panama Railroad than did the original treaty. The modified treaty also provided that of the twenty-five million dollars indemnity, five million should be paid by the United States to Colombia within six months after the ratifications of that treaty were exchanged, and the remainder should be paid in four equal annual installments. In the Colombian Congress opposition was made to the modifications in the Thompson-Urrutia Treaty. As modified, however, the treaty was favored by President Fidel Suárez. Evidently it seemed to him that attacks were being made upon his administration because of political motives, and as he did not wish to prejudice the fate of this important treaty, he resigned the presidency. On November 11 he was succeeded by General Jorge Holguín, the *Primero Designado*, a publicist of wide political experience and prestige. On December 22, 1921, the Colombian Congress ratified the Thompson-Urrutia Treaty as modified by the United States. Two days later it was ratified by the Acting President. In recommending that treaty of reconciliation to the Colombian Senate for approval the committee on foreign relations of the Colombian Senate expressed the hope that its ratification would "restore the cordial amity which had previously marked the relations between the United States and Colombia."

Summary.—A most promising feature of recent Colombian politics has been the decline of party dissensions. Colombia's citizens seem to have become aroused to the damage wrought their country by fierce civil wars and to have settled down to an era of regular, constitutional government. Still, as the Constitution of 1886 recognized ecclesiastical privileges and prerogatives, it has furnished the material for anti-clerical propaganda. In Colombia the Church still plays a most influential rôle in politics: it favors the conservation of the established order and opposes innovations, especially those of a politico-religious type. The economic development of Colombia has been much retarded, partly because of her physiography, partly because of revolutionary disturbances, and partly because of the lack of good communications. The Magdalena River is still the main artery of Colombia's commercial

life; as yet no railroad connects the Caribbean coast with the plateau of Bogotá: with the exception of Sucre, Bogotá is the most inaccessible capital in Latin America. During a large part of her history Colombia has lacked the capital necessary for industrial development. In a large measure she remains an agricultural, pastoral, and mining country, rich in material resources but undeveloped. Her political life is dominated by a capable aristocracy, seated for the most part in the capital city—an aristocracy whose culture reposes upon the industrial activities of the aboriginal and the mixed classes. Educated Colombians are resourceful, courteous, and watchful of their economic interests. By virtue of their habitat they are destined to be brought into closer and closer relations with the United States.

CHAPTER XV

ECUADOR

Origin of Ecuador.—Ecuador took the place upon the map of South America which had been occupied by the presidency of Quito. This presidency—composed of provinces near the equator—was liberated from Spanish rule in 1822 through the victory of General Sucre at Pichincha. As the fundamental law of the Congress of Angostura had provided that the presidency of Quito should be a department of the new state, Bolívar instructed Sucre that it should be incorporated in the Colombian republic. At the instance of Sucre, on May 29, 1822—five days after the battle of Pichincha—an extraordinary *cabildo* at the capital city of the presidency announced that the provinces of the ancient Kingdom of Quito had been reunited with Colombia. Shortly afterwards many of its inhabitants swore to support the Colombian Constitution.

Dissent in Guayaquil.—In Guayaquil some citizens favored annexation to Peru. On July 13, 1822, Bolívar issued an address to the people of that city expressing his ardent desire to place the presidency of Quito under Colombia's protection. Even before the arrival of San Martín at Guayaquil for an interview with Bolívar, the latter had declared that the former presidency was Colombian soil. In August, 1822, the Liberator issued a decree announcing that the province of Guayaquil should be organized as a department of Colombia. General Salom was soon appointed intendant of that department. As has been indicated, in 1828 soldiers under the leadership of Sucre repulsed Peruvian invaders of southern Colombia.

Ecuador's First Constitutional Convention.—Even before the death of Bolívar, a movement had begun in the city of Quito for separation from Colombia. In May, 1830, a junta in that city appointed as provisional executive General

Juan José Flores, a comrade and compatriot of Bolívar who had distinguished himself in the revolutionary service. He soon convoked a Constituent Congress of delegates from the three departments of Colombia near the equator. The Congress, which assembled at Riobamba on August 14, 1830, framed a Constitution that was promulgated by the President on September 23, 1830.

The Constitution of 1830.—The first Ecuadorian Constitution declared that the departments of Azuay, Guayas, and Quito formed an independent entity named the "State of Ecuador." Yet it declared that this state would unite with other states of northern South America to form the "Republic of Colombia." Ecuador was to include the territories belonging to the three departments that had been carved out of the Kingdom of Quito. The religion of the new state was to be Roman Catholicism to the exclusion of any other. Natives of other portions of the former Colombian nation who were domiciled in Ecuador should be considered citizens of that state. Large executive authority was vested in a President elected for four years, who should be aided by a council of state. With the approval of that council the President could appoint bishops, judges, and prefects. Legislative power was granted to a unicameral legislature which was to be composed of ten members elected from each of the departments. Every member of the Congress of Deputies must either be a land owner or enjoy an income. Judicial authority was given to a high court, appellate courts, and other tribunals. The administrative divisions of the new state were to be the departments, provinces, and cantons. At the head of each department should be placed a prefect who was to act as the agent of the President. A transitory clause provided that the civil and organic laws which were in force within the boundaries of Ecuador should be observed so far as they harmonized with her Constitution. Another clause provided that the first magistrates of the state which was being carved out of the side of Colombia should be selected by the Constituent Congress.

General Flores Becomes President.—Upon the same day Congress elected General Flores president of Ecuador. General Urdaneta promptly proclaimed himself in Guayaquil

as in favor of Colombian unity and of the rule of General Bolívar. When news of Bolívar's death reached Urdaneta's soldiers, however, their opposition to independence vanished, and Guayaquil accepted the Ecuadorian Constitution. Uprisings that took place against the new government in 1832 were remorselessly suppressed. A territorial dispute soon arose between Ecuador and New Granada; for inhabitants of the department of Cauca proclaimed their adhesion to Ecuador. In December, 1832, a treaty was signed in the city of Pasto by commissioners of the two nations which provided that Cauca should belong to New Granada. The river Carchi was made the boundary between the sister republics. Meantime José de Villamil took possession of the Galápagos Islands for Ecuador.

Liberal Opposition under Rocafuerte.—In 1832 opposition appeared to the rule of Flores who had become the Conservative leader. In May, 1833, a Liberal society called *El Quiteño Libre*, which was organized in the capital city, began to publish a periodical of propaganda. Vicente Rocafuerte, a Liberal leader who had just returned to his native land from the United States, England, and Mexico, was elected to the Congress of 1833. He protested against the exercise of extraordinary power by Flores who undertook to exile Liberal leaders. Rocafuerte was expelled from Congress and banished from Quito. But insurrectionists at Guayaquil soon proclaimed him supreme chief. After conflicts between followers of rival chieftains, Rocafuerte was captured by the President's soldiers and cast into a dungeon. In July, 1834, the Liberal leader made a pact with Flores. This adjustment provided that there should be peace and harmony among Ecuadorians: Rocafuerte was made "superior chief" of the department of Guayas. When the President's term ended, Rocafuerte was proclaimed supreme chief of Ecuador, while Flores became commander in chief of the army.

The Constitution of 1835.—After uprisings in various sections had been checked, a Convention that Rocafuerte had summoned to meet at Ambato adopted a new Constitution for "the Republic of Ecuador," which was promulgated on August 13, 1835. This Constitution provided for a bicameral legislature composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

It stated that the republic should be organized into seven provinces, besides the Galápagos Archipelago. In charge of each province should be placed a governor who was to be the agent of the President. The Convention elected Rocafuerte president.

Reforms of President Rocafuerte.—The presidency of Rocafuerte was signalized by significant reforms. He issued decrees that aimed to protect the aborigines against fiscal exactions by *corregidores* and by priests. He appointed a commission to formulate civil and penal codes. In 1837 he signed a generous decree of amnesty, which was followed by the return of certain *émigrés*. He promoted elementary and higher education in various ways: he founded a short-lived schools for girls at Quito; and in 1838 he established there a military institute. He reconstructed the pyramids built by French scientists to determine the equinoctial line. A critic of Roman Catholicism and the clergy, he tried to secularize public education. He even seems to have dreamed of introducing Protestantism into Ecuador. In a message to Congress the President expressed his desire for freedom of conscience and for the encouragement of immigration.

Flores again President.—Early in 1839 Flores succeeded Rocafuerte, who resumed his post at Guayaquil. During the second presidency of Flores he issued a decree which opened Ecuador's ports to Spanish commerce. On February 16, 1840, the Ecuadorian minister at Madrid signed a treaty with the Spanish secretary of state acknowledging Ecuador's independence. A treaty was negotiated with England providing for the abolition of the slave trade. In 1841 fruitless negotiations were initiated in Quito between the minister of Peru and the Ecuadorian chancery for a treaty which would fix the limits of their territories. To a Convention which met at Quito the President sent a message urging the need of constitutional reform. That Convention adopted a new Constitution which was promulgated on April 1, 1843. It extended the President's term to eight years. It declared that no other religious faith than Roman Catholicism might be practiced publicly. Meantime, despite the protests of Rocafuerte—who went into exile—Flores was reelected president. Liberals now suspected that he aspired to become dictator for life. His

third presidency was tempestuous. In March, 1845, a revolution broke out against him. In June he was forced to sign agreements with liberal leaders by which he recognized their provisional government, was granted a pension, and agreed to leave Ecuador.

Civil War and International Complications.—In December, 1845, a Convention at Cuenca formed a new Constitution which provided that the President should be elected for four years by a majority of the members of Congress. Vicente Roca was elected president. The period from 1846 to 1860 was perhaps the most tumultuous age in Ecuadorian history. Because of the failure of Ecuador to refuse an asylum to General Obando—as requested by New Granada—grave differences arose between the two republics. Soldiers of New Granada were stationed along the Ecuadorian frontiers, while her President was authorized to make war on Ecuador. Yet on May 29, 1846, an agreement was signed by the contending nations at Santa Rosa del Carchi which provided for the negotiation of a treaty that would determine their limits. In March, 1851, Diego Noboa, who became president after a struggle with aspiring rivals, sanctioned a law permitting the Jesuits to return to Ecuador. But he was expelled from the republic as the result of a revolution that began in Guayaquil. A new Constitution had scarcely been put into force, when in July, 1851, General Urbina became dictator. He established his capital at Guayaquil. With one cannon Ecuadorian soldiers under Illingsworth and Villamil repulsed a squadron which General Flores led against that city from Peru. A Convention which met on July 17, 1852, at Guayaquil adopted a new Constitution that was promulgated on September 6. In important particulars it followed the Constitution of 1845. It provided, however, that ordinarily the President and Vice-President should be chosen by electoral assemblies. The Convention decreed the expulsion of the Jesuits, and provided for the emancipation of negro slaves. In accordance with a transitory clause of the Constitution, it elected General José Urbina president. Under General Robles, who became president in October, 1856, Congress issued a decree of amnesty to all political offenders except those who had been engaged in the expeditions of Flores. In 1857,

with some modifications, Congress adopted the Chilean civil code.

Relations with Peru.—While Ecuador was being torn by internal dissensions and civil war, Peruvian warships blockaded Guayaquil. To the disgust of many Ecuadorians, in January, 1860, General Franco, who had been proclaimed dictator by revolutionists in that city, agreed to a treaty with President Castilla which tentatively recognized as the boundary between Peru and Ecuador the limits of the viceroyalties of Peru and New Granada according to the royal order of 1802. The Peruvian fleet then withdrew. Franco and other Ecuadorian generals were soon driven out of Guayaquil, however, by General Flores and García Moreno, who captured that port on September 24, 1860. The period from 1861 to 1875 may be designated the "Age of García Moreno."

Rise of García Moreno.—In January, 1861, a Convention which had been convoked at Quito elected Gabriel García Moreno president of Ecuador. A brave, energetic, and well-educated man, he had studied in Quito, London, and Paris. During Urbina's dictatorship García Moreno had founded an opposition journal called *La Nación*: its chief theme was that the enslaved Ecuadorian nation should rattle her chains and protest against her oppressors. Unwilling to desist, although warned by the Dictator, García Moreno was deported shortly after the second number of his journal was published. From 1854 to 1856 he was in Paris where he became obsessed with the idea that the Catholic Church should be above all earthly powers.

Constitution of 1861.—On March 10, 1861, the Ecuadorian Convention adopted a new Constitution which García Moreno promulgated a month later. It vested extensive powers in a President who should be chosen by direct and secret vote of qualified citizens for four years and who could not be reëlected until one term had intervened. He was not to interfere in judicial proceedings or with the liberty of the press. He was to be aided by a cabinet of three members. Each house of the bicameral legislature was granted special functions and also powers that might only be exercised in conjunction with the other house. The religion of the republic should be Roman Catholic to the exclusion of every other.

Arbitrary arrests were prohibited. Trials might only be held by the proper courts. Political offenders might not be condemned to death.

Presidential Policies of García Moreno.—The Constitutional Convention elected García Moreno president. García Moreno's internal policy was one of reform and economy. His own salary he donated to the state and to charity. He made a study of Ecuador's finances. He planned good roads that should stretch from the coast beyond the foothills of the Andes. He established a new port at Pailon, and at Quito a mint and a hospital. He issued decrees against immorality, brigandage, and militarism, disciplined and reorganized the army, and directed that a prominent revolutionary leader who had become a bandit chief should be shot. The President forced a venturesome Ecuadorian who tried to publish an opposition journal in the capital city to flee incontinently to New Granada. He banished congressmen that opposed his rule; he arbitrarily imprisoned and executed unfortunate individuals that were suspected of disaffection.

The Concordat.—With respect to the relations between Church and State President García Moreno authorized a significant agreement. On September 26, 1862, a prelate whom he had dispatched as minister plenipotentiary to Rome signed a Concordat with the Papal secretary of state. Article I of that agreement ran, in part, as follows: "The Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion shall continue to be the sole religion of the Republic of Ecuador, and shall be maintained there with all the rights and prerogatives which it ought to enjoy in accordance with the law of God and the canonical provisions." No religion or society condemned by the Catholic Church was ever to be allowed in Ecuador. The President was conceded a limited participation in ecclesiastical appointments. Upon the other hand, the Concordat provided that an ecclesiastical seminary was to be established in each diocese. The government of Ecuador was to furnish facilities for the planting of missions. Public and private education were everywhere to be conducted "entirely according to the doctrine of the Christian religion." Bishops were to have the right to supervise primary schools, academies, and universities, as well as the right to prohibit the use of books which

were "opposed to religion and good morals." Ecuadorian ecclesiastics and communicants were to have the right freely to communicate with the Pope. Papal bulls or rescripts should be admitted into Ecuador without being scrutinized by the civil authorities. Bishops should be allowed complete liberty in the administration of their dioceses; they might freely convoke provincial and diocesan synods. The Church was assured the right to possess and administer property. Ecclesiastical suits were to be brought "before ecclesiastical tribunals only"; no cases involving ecclesiastics should be heard by civil courts, while appeals from ecclesiastical tribunals to civil courts were cut off. Ecuador thus relinquished to the Holy See certain rights and privileges which the State had assumed upon the separation of the presidency of Quito from Spain. Assured the exercise of extraordinary privileges, the Ecuadorian Church was encouraged to exert its powerful influence in support of a theocratic State.

Other Foreign Relations.—This Concordat created considerable dissatisfaction among the Ecuadorians. Congress soon attempted to modify it by law. The discontent was increased by reports that García Moreno wished a European dynasty to establish a protectorate over the republic. Rumors were even circulated that the President desired to make Ecuador an appanage of Spain. Julio Arboleda, a revolutionist who was driven out of New Granada, crossed the frontier into Ecuador and defeated García Moreno's soldiers. President Mosquera of New Granada invited Ecuadorians to overthrow their President and to reestablish "Great Colombia." As a retort General Flores arrogantly led an Ecuadorian army into New Granada only to be defeated by Mosquera's soldiers at Cuaspud on December 6, 1863. Still, New Granada negotiated a generous treaty of peace and amity with Ecuador which restored the *status quo*. Upon the death of the aged Flores, the President relinquished his civil authority to the Vice-President, placed himself at the head of the armed forces, and ruthlessly suppressed Ecuadorian insurrectionists who were using Peruvian territory as a base of operations.

García Moreno Returns to Power.—In the election of 1865 García Moreno's candidate, Jerónimo Carrión, was chosen president. The ex-President apparently planned to

use Carrión as his pliant tool. It was during Carrión's administration that Ecuador ultimately joined other republics on the Pacific against Spain because of her war upon Peru. After Carrión had experienced grave difficulties with García Moreno and with Congress, he relinquished his post and was succeeded by Javier Espinosa, one of García Moreno's followers. As the result of a barrack insurrection in the capital city, García Moreno became president *ad interim* on January 17, 1869. In the following month he promulgated a law which defined benefit of clergy. This law aimed to guarantee the right of ecclesiastics to be tried in church courts in all civil cases, except those of a financial or political character. In civil cases ecclesiastical judges were to be guided by the civil law. In June, 1869, García Moreno was reelected president of the republic by a Convention which had just framed a new Constitution that assured extravagant privileges to the Church and granted wide powers to the President. This Constitution extended the President's term to six years and provided that he might be reelected at once. During what has been designated his third administration, García Moreno became more and more imbued with Catholicism. A Peruvian littérateur has not inaptly said that his governmental programme read like a bishop's sermon. The Ecuadorian President decreed that any one who belonged to a sect which was condemned by the Church should lose his civil rights. He protested to the Kingdom of Italy against the confiscation of the papal territories. At his instance, Congress made gifts of money to the Pope from Ecuador's treasury. In October, 1873, the President promulgated a law consecrating the republic to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

Significance of his Rule.—García Moreno was again elected president and would have continued in power; but on August 6, 1875, conspirators finally accomplished their purpose. Assassins fell upon him near the steps of the capitol and clove his skull with a machete. During his rule there took place in Ecuador a great increase of clerical influence and fanaticism. On the other side, his rule was marked by significant material improvements. It has been said that the road built during his age which replaced an Indian trail between Guayaquil and Quito was enough to immortalize ten

presidents of republics. In his last message to Congress the theocrat compared Ecuador to Lazarus arisen from his sepulcher. For good or ill, the impress of García Moreno's politico-religious despotism long remained upon the "Republic of the Sacred Heart."

Struggles between Clericals and Liberals.—Upon the death of the Dictator, Francisco Xavier León, who was secretary of the interior, assumed executive power. In December, 1875, Antonio Borrero, who had been elected president, assumed the reins that García Moreno had dropped. Borrero's refusal to convoke a constitutional convention at once provoked violent opposition. In Guayaquil the Anti-Clericals or Liberals organized a revolution under General Ignacio de Veintemilla; the government forces were defeated; and Borrero was forced into exile. Clericals and priests—who were now deprived of power and privilege—stimulated opposition to the new régime. A Convention which met at Ambato in 1878 framed a new Constitution which vested executive power in a President whose term should be four years. Dictator Veintemilla it made President. Well-grounded suspicions that he aspired to retain his power beyond the constitutional term promoted a spirit of discontent. Insurrections against his authority next took place. Driven out of Quito, the Dictator was compelled to take refuge in Guayaquil.

Constitution of 1884.—Revolutionary governments that were seated in various sections of Ecuador issued pronunciamientos advocating constitutional reform. Hence the "National Assembly of Ecuador" met at Quito in 1883, framed a new Constitution, and elected José Caamaño president. He promulgated the Constitution on February 13, 1884. Certain provisions of that fundamental law—which was slightly amended in 1887—are worthy of mention, as they indicate tendencies and ideals of Ecuadorian politics. The religion of Ecuador was again declared to be Catholic, Roman, and Apostolic, to the exclusion of any other faith. The public authorities were to respect it and to protect its rights and liberties. Among the political guaranties was a peculiar article which stated that, with the exception of such persons as might arm and organize as regular military forces, there should be no capital punishment for political offenders. The

term of President and Vice-President was strictly limited to four years. They might not be reelected until eight years had elapsed.

Overthrow of President Cordero by General Alfaro.—

The term of President Caamaño was marked by much turmoil and civil strife. Notable among uprisings against the legal order was that which occurred in 1884 under the leadership of a Liberal named General Eloy Alfaro. Antonio Flores, who became president in 1888, gave Ecuador a rule of comparative tranquillity. A law passed by Congress during his administration that aimed to exempt the government from claims of foreigners for damages caused by riots, civil wars, and revolts provoked a protest from the United States government. It declared that the act was "subversive of all the principles of international law." The President, who had opposed this law, then resigned, but Congress would not accept his resignation. Flores strove to accomplish certain reforms, especially the rehabilitation of Ecuador's embarrassed finances. In 1892 Luis Cordero was elected president. Aid which he furnished Chile in a transaction involving the transfer of the Chilean cruiser "Esmeralda" to Japan during the Chinese-Japanese War aroused the fierce indignation of the Ecuadorian people, and provoked an insurrection against his rule. In June, 1895, a proclamation was published at Guayaquil announcing that General Alfaro was the ruler of Ecuador. Upon returning from exile, Alfaro organized a revolutionary army, and defeated the soldiers of the government. On September 1, 1895, he entered Quito. General Alfaro thus became the "Supreme Chief of the Republic." Shortly afterwards the United States recognized the régime established by the revolution as the *de facto* government of Ecuador.

Constitution of 1897.—The Liberals soon undertook to purge Ecuador of clericalism. At the instance of Alfaro, a Convention which assembled at Guayaquil framed a Constitution that was promulgated on January 12, 1897. More tolerant than previous fundamental laws, this Constitution provided that Roman Catholicism should be the state religion to the exclusion of all other forms of religious worship that might be contrary to morals. Compulsory conscription and confiscation of private property were alike prohibited. Slavery

was not to exist within Ecuadorian territory. Executive authority was vested in a President, a cabinet, and a council of state. Legislative authority was given to a bicameral Congress. Judicial authority was conferred upon a supreme court, superior courts, and minor courts. The main administrative divisions were the provinces which were to be managed by governors appointed by the President. He was also to appoint the chief administrative officers of smaller subdivisions that were designated cantons and parishes.

Alfaro Becomes President.—After the Constitutional Convention had transferred its seat to Quito, it elected General Alfaro president. Scarcely had it terminated its labors when an insurrection began against the government. As that movement was evidently due to the influence of the Conservative party, Alfaro promoted measures which were designed to decrease the privileges of the clergy. On September 27, 1899, he promulgated a law which abrogated certain provisions of the Concordat. This law provided that Papal legates could not exercise jurisdiction in the republic without the consent of the council of state. Bulls or rescripts could not be circulated without the sanction of the President. Revenues for the support of the Church should be raised by the State alone. The right to appoint bishops should only be exercised by the national government. During Alfaro's presidency a significant contract was signed between the government of Ecuador and a citizen of the United States for the construction of a railroad between Guayaquil and Quito. The Ecuadorian government agreed to issue bonds to pay the cost of construction, as well as to meet any deficit which might occur in the operation of the railroad for six years after it reached the capital city.

Politico-Religious Reform under President Plaza Gutiérrez.—In 1901 General Leonidas Plaza Gutiérrez became president. During his administration Ecuador enjoyed a large measure of peace and liberty. His programme of reform included various measures designed to lessen the authority and privileges of the Catholic Church. In a message to Congress on August 10, 1902, he urged that the control of education should be taken from ecclesiastics and given to laymen. He soon signed laws that legalized civil marriage and

made divorce possible. On October 13, 1904, he sanctioned a law providing that any faith which was not contrary to morality or to the laws of Ecuador should be tolerated. This law also stipulated that the ministers of religions which were tolerated should be protected. Further, it prohibited the establishment of new convents and monasteries. Possibly partly because of bitter clerical opposition to those measures, in 1905 a law was enacted which declared that rural property held by the dead hand of the Church in Ecuador belonged to the State.

Alfaro again Becomes Supreme Chief.—In 1905 Lizardo García, who was the candidate of Plaza Gutiérrez, was elected president. A few months of power were all that he enjoyed; for early in the following year a revolt began that was supported by ex-President Alfaro. This triumphed in Guayaquil; and on January 17 Alfaro occupied Quito. Thus Alfaro again became the ruler of Ecuador.

Ecuadorian Constitution of 1906.—He soon convoked a Constitutional Assembly that met in Quito and framed the twelfth Constitution of Ecuador, which was promulgated on December 23, 1906. This Constitution declared that a condition of Ecuadorian citizenship was the ability to read and write. Public education was to be under the control of laymen. Freedom of conscience was to be enjoyed whenever it was not contrary to morals or to public order. There should be no arbitrary arrests: liberty of suffrage, of speech, and of the press were to be enjoyed. *Fueros* and *mayorazgos* were not to be recognized. Confiscation of property, torture, or infamous punishments were to be prohibited. In general, foreigners were to enjoy the same civil rights as Ecuadorians. Every contract made by a foreigner with the government of Ecuador, however, was to imply his renunciation of all recourse to diplomacy.

Frame of Government.—The Ecuadorian Constitution of 1906 furnished the basis for a centralistic republic. It stipulated that the President was to select the governors of the provinces. It provided that he should be elected by direct, popular vote for four years, and should not be reëlected without an intermission of eight years. In case of the death or disability of the chief executive, his functions should pass

to the president of the Senate and then, if need arose, to the president of the Chamber of Deputies. The President was to be advised by a cabinet of five members appointed by himself, and upon important matters by a council of state. This council was to act for Congress when that body was not in session. It was to be composed of the cabinet, the president of the supreme court, the president of the court of accounts, and seven other members selected by Congress. The Senate was to be made up of two members for each province. The Chamber of Deputies was to be composed of members chosen for two years by direct vote from districts. Members of the cabinet might participate in congressional debates. Congress should meet annually at Quito on August 10, but the President might convoke it in extraordinary session whenever he judged necessary. The supreme court should be composed of five judges elected by Congress in joint session for six years. Judges of the superior courts were to be chosen in the same manner. Among the transitory articles of the Constitution was a provision that the chief officials for the ensuing administration should be chosen by the Constitutional Assembly.

Alfaro's Last Administration.—The Convention of 1906 elected the revolutionary chieftain president. Alfaro was inaugurated on January 1, 1907. Still conspiracies against the government did not cease; and the expense of supporting an army was partly responsible for a deficit in 1907. An outstanding event of Alfaro's last administration was the completion of the railroad from Quito to Guayaquil. On June 17, 1908, América Alfaro—the President's daughter—drove a golden spike in the last tie of that road. This wonderful railway connects the miasmatic coast with the Andean plateau. The expense entailed upon the government by its construction and operation, however, has promoted the demoralization of Ecuador's finances. In 1909 an exposition was held in Quito to celebrate the centenary of the beginnings of the movement for independence from Spain.

End of his Domination.—Shortly before his term expired, Alfaro resigned and was succeeded by the Vice-President. Alfaro soon emerged, however, as the leader of a rebellion. A barbarous struggle ensued between his partisans

and the government's forces. The insurrectionary soldiers were badly defeated at Huigra; their leaders were captured; and their aged chieftain was incarcerated in the penitentiary of the capital city. In January, 1912, the ex-President was dragged out of his dungeon by the enraged populace and murdered.

President Plaza Gutiérrez Attempts Reforms.—After the death of Emilio Estrado—who had succeeded to Alfaro's power—in December, 1911, the chief magistracy of Ecuador was exercised during an *interregnum* either by the president of the Senate or by the president of the Chamber of Deputies. On August 31, 1912, General Leonidas Plaza Gutiérrez was again inaugurated president. Uprisings soon took place against the government, but after the defeat and capture of the chief insurrectionary leader, General Carlos Concha Torres, the rebels gradually dispersed. Not only did President Plaza Gutiérrez strive to exterminate the bandits who were often responsible for revolutionary disturbances, but he also attempted to initiate certain political reforms. In a message to Congress in 1914 the President proposed that the Constitution of the republic should be again altered. As conferences with congressmen produced no tangible results, he brought the matter to the attention of Congress by a special message. Plaza Gutiérrez deplored the failure of "presidential government" in Ecuador and proposed a reorganization through the introduction of a parliamentary system resting upon "complete electoral liberty." Yet Congress could not endorse his projected constitutional amendments which would have made it possible for a Senator or a Deputy to accept a seat in the President's cabinet without relinquishing his seat in Congress.

Conditions on Eve of World War: Boundary Disputes.

—The boundaries of Ecuador have not all been satisfactorily settled. In 1904 a treaty was signed in Rio de Janeiro by diplomats of Ecuador and Brazil by which Ecuador relinquished to Brazil her claim to territory lying between the river Caquetá and the river Amazon east of a line drawn from the mouth of San Antonio River to the mouth of the river Apoporis. In 1856 a treaty had been negotiated which provided that the boundary between Ecuador and New

Granada should be the line sketched by the Congress of Colombia in 1824 between the departments of Ecuador and Cauca. Subsequently, however, troublesome questions arose about the limits. At Bogotá on July 15, 1916, a treaty was accordingly signed which sketched a boundary line between Ecuador and Colombia, and which provided that a mixed commission should be selected with power to set posts along this boundary and to adjust such reciprocal compensations as might be necessary to determine the line clearly. A year later the commission began the survey, which it completed by July 9, 1919. The boundary dispute of Ecuador with Peru, however, proved more difficult to adjust. In 1887 the two nations signed a treaty which provided that they would submit their dispute about limits to the arbitration of the Spanish King. In 1894 a Tripartite Treaty was arranged between Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru stipulating that Colombia and Ecuador should submit their boundary disputes with Peru to the arbitration of the King of Spain. This compact was ratified by the congresses of Peru and Colombia but was rejected by the Ecuadorian Congress. On February 19, 1904, a protocol was signed by diplomats of Peru and Ecuador by which their governments agreed to submit their acrimonious controversy to the arbitration of the Spanish King. Subsequently, a commissioner of that monarch visited Quito and Lima but—apparently dreading that the announcement of the decision which he had drafted might provoke a war between Peru and Ecuador—the King of Spain withheld his award. A portion of the territory in dispute has since been occupied by Peruvians.

Social Condition.—As a large part of the territory of Ecuador is in dispute, and as a considerable proportion of the inhabitants are Indians who are more or less barbarous, only rough estimates of her population may be given. It is possible that in 1914 the total population of Ecuador amounted to one and one-half million souls. Possibly three-fourths of these were Indians; about one-fifth were half-breeds; and only a small fraction were whites. Few immigrants have entered Ecuador, even from other Spanish-American countries. This has been partly due to the fact that during a considerable portion of the year Ecuador's chief

port, Guayaquil, has been almost or entirely shut off from the outside world because of the prevalence there of yellow fever or the bubonic plague. The upper classes in Ecuador speak Spanish, while the lower classes ordinarily use an Indian dialect. On the eve of the World War the Ecuadorian army numbered about seven thousand men, while the navy was composed of a few small war vessels.

Economic Condition.—The chief industry of Ecuador was agriculture. More cacao was produced there than in any other American country. In various sections coffee was a profitable crop. On the lowlands near the coast numerous sugar and tobacco plantations were located. Ivory nuts and crude rubber were gathered in the forests. The ordinary cereals were raised for home consumption, as well as cattle and sheep. Here and there some mining was done; and a small amount of gold was exported. Among Ecuador's manufactures were the following: crude chocolate, ponchos, stuffed humming birds, and Panama hats. At Guayaquil many inhabitants were engaged in commercial pursuits. Transportation in Ecuador was extremely backward. Her eastern territory, which Peru claims, was served by small steamers that plied the branches of the Amazon. Her sea-ports had rather indifferent steamship service; her chief port was generally under a quarantine. Ecuador's smaller ports were reached by coasting vessels. Internal arteries of commerce in Ecuador were the Guayas River, the upper tributaries of the Amazon, and the Guayaquil and Quito Railway. In 1914 the debt of Ecuador, which was largely composed of obligations inherited from Colombia and of loans incurred to promote her chief railway, perhaps aggregated in United States currency some twenty million dollars. The unit of monetary value in Ecuador is the gold sucre, which is worth in United States currency about forty-eight cents.

Education.—Education in Ecuador was very backward. Although primary education was free and obligatory, yet the attendance at elementary schools was small. Secondary education was mainly carried on in *colegios* that were often managed by religious orders. Higher education was pursued in the universities of Cuenca, Guayaquil, and Quito. The University of Quito offered courses in philosophy, letters,

law, medicine, physical and natural science, mathematics, and agriculture. In spite of the Liberal reforms of the present century, the Church still exercised much influence upon many Ecuadorian citizens.

Literature.—The literature of Ecuador began with the poet Olmedo, who sang about the triumph of Bolívar's arms at Junín. Her most distinguished journalist was García Moreno who wrote a lengthy defense of the Jesuits, besides numerous state papers. Juan Montalvo included in *Siete Tratados* literary essays upon diverse topics. His best known production was the *Capítulos que se olvidaron á Cervantes*—a volume which was published posthumously. Among Ecuadorian poets Numa Pompilio Llona holds high rank: his best known poem being *La odisea del alma*. The most versatile writer of Ecuador was Juan León Mera, the author of novels, verses, and a history of Ecuadorian poetry. His poem *La virgen del sol* was based upon a legend of the Spanish conquest; his novel *Cumanda* was described in its subtitle as a drama among savages. A diplomat named Carlos R. Tobar is not only the author of sketches of society in Quito, but also the formulator of a doctrine which is allied to the Monroe Doctrine.

Ecuador and the World War.—The World War affected Ecuador in various ways. At once the volume of her imports declined and, in consequence, her revenues decreased. On August 17, 1914, the government announced that it would observe a strict neutrality during the war in accordance with the general principles of international law and the Hague Conventions. In November, 1914—in response to complaints of England and France that Ecuador had permitted violations of neutrality within her jurisdiction—Secretary R. H. Elizalde addressed a circular to American chancellories justifying the neutral policy of his government. Subsequently Ecuador addressed communications to American republics advocating an organization of those governments for the defense of their rights and the protection of their interests. This policy was continued under the Liberal, Alfredo Baquerizo Moreno, who became president on August 31, 1916. Ecuador's argument for American solidarity lost something of its force, however, when certain sister republics declared

themselves against the war policy of Germany. It does not appear, however, that the Ecuadorian government was ever officially informed by the German government concerning its ruthless submarine policy. Still, when the ex-minister of Germany to Peru expressed his intention to proceed from Lima to Quito—having been accredited to Ecuador as well as to Peru—he was promptly informed by the Ecuadorian minister at Lima that his reception at Quito would be incompatible with the principles of American solidarity. This step—which was virtually a decision to suspend diplomatic relations with Germany—was promptly made known by the Ecuadorian chancellory to other nations, October 17, 1917.

The Sanitation of Guayaquil.—Not until after the close of the Great War did efforts for the sanitation of Guayaquil—which had long been an endemic center for the bubonic plague and yellow fever—terminate in a satisfactory manner. In 1916 a commission of the Rockefeller Foundation made an investigation of the conditions prevailing in that city. A scientific fight against yellow fever was undertaken two years later under the direction of the American sanitary expert, Colonel Gorgas. By May, 1920, that scourge had been eradicated from Guayaquil and also from adjacent districts. The chief seaport of Ecuador was thus relieved from the commercial excommunication which had for many long years obstructed her relations with the nations of the world.

President Tamayo's Programme.—In the campaign of 1920 Dr. José L. Tamayo was elected president of Ecuador. He took oath to observe the Constitution on August 31, 1920. In an address to Congress upon that occasion the President directed attention to the grave economic crisis due to the delay in the sale of Ecuadorian cacao and to the impending cessation of the current of foreign capital which had been flowing into Ecuador. He outlined a legislative programme that was designed to suppress brigandage and to promote the economic and social welfare of the Ecuadorian people.

Summary.—Ecuador has been particularly backward in her development. Because of her inaccessibility—due in no small measure to the pestiferous conditions that long prevailed at her chief port—the Ecuadorian republic has, in many essentials, lagged behind her northern neighbor. Politicians of

Guayaquil struggling against the domination of politicians of Quito and vice versa, an aggressive Clerical party anxious to retain as many as possible of the privileges gained during the age of García Moreno, barrack insurrections of aboriginal soldiers that have been occasionally disgraced by acts of savage cruelty—these appear to be some of the outstanding traits of Ecuadorian insurrections and counter-insurrections. Ecuador's constitutional changes often do not appear to have signalized the triumph of any political principles. The phrase which Bolívar used in despair in speaking of the constitutions of Spanish America seems to be particularly applicable to Ecuador: her constitutions are paper! This has been so largely because of the aboriginal element in the population of Ecuador, an element that at times breaks suddenly through the dykes which have been raised with care by the civilized leaders. At many points the Liberals have made gains against the Clericals during the present century. The economic development of Ecuador has been stunted because of the unprogressive character of large classes in her population, because of the long lack of good communications, and because of the absence of contact with the outer world. Her international relations are complicated because of the unsettled boundary dispute with Peru which still seriously threatens her territorial integrity. The recent sanitation of Guayaquil, however, is a page in Ecuador's history that casts a radiance into the future. In view of the great improvement thus made possible in the relations of the Ecuadorian republic with the rest of the world, and in view of the expected influx of foreign capital and enterprise, there seems to be no reason why there should not arise in time a New Ecuador that will shame the old.

CHAPTER XVI

VENEZUELA

Venezuela's Constitution of 1830.—The Convention which, at the instance of General Páez, assembled at Valencia in May, 1830, re-created the state of Venezuela. In September, 1830, it published a Constitution for that state. According to this Constitution, the Venezuelan republic was to include all the territory which had been designated the captaincy general of Venezuela before the Revolution of 1810, that is to say, the same regions which had been erected into a state in 1810-1811. This Constitution was in some respects a compromise between the federal and the centralistic types of government. Executive authority was to be vested in a President and a Vice-President chosen by electoral colleges. The President should be elected for four years and the Vice-President for two years. Congress should be composed of two houses, a Senate and a House of Representatives. The highest judicial authority was vested in a supreme court of justice. The unit of local government was to be the autonomous province. Each province was to have a legislature composed of members selected by electoral colleges. The governor of each province should be selected by the President from a list of nominees presented by the respective legislature. Provinces were divided into cantons, which were composed of municipalities. The Convention also undertook to modify certain laws of Colombia so as to suit Venezuela.

Progress under President Páez.—As their chief magistrate the Venezuelans selected that dashing, inconsistent, and refractory lieutenant of Bolívar who had been the chief leader of the secessionist movement. General Páez was installed as president early in 1831. Congress passed a law in May which provided that the capital of Venezuela should be transferred from Valencia to Caracas. After

leading the army against opponents of the new régime, Páez issued a decree of amnesty to those Venezuelans who had attempted by force of arms to reëstablish Colombia. Measures were taken by the President and by Congress to reform the fiscal administration. A law of April, 1833, abolished the tithes and provided that the expenses of the Church in Venezuela should be paid from the national treasury. The secretary of the treasury was dispatched to Bogotá where he arranged a division of the indebtedness of Colombia. France recognized Venezuela's independence. Early in 1834 the President signed a law which stipulated that there should be no prohibition upon religious liberty in Venezuela. Laws were enacted which regulated the customhouses and reformed the tariff. The first administration of Páez was distinguished by peace, prosperity, and progress.

President Vargas.—As no candidate secured the required majority of electoral votes in the next presidential election, early in 1835, as provided by the Constitution, Congress proceeded to choose a President. To the chagrin of military men the choice fell upon José M. Vargas, the learned rector of the University of Caracas. Vargas took up the duties of chief magistrate with reluctance, and, when Congress passed a bill over his veto, he resigned the presidency. Yet Congress declined to accept his resignation. In July, 1835, an insurrection led by General Mariño—who was designated the chief of the revolution of reform—deposed Vargas and sent him into exile. Tradition records that when a revolutionist peremptorily asked Vargas to renounce the presidency, exclaiming that the world was for the valiant man, that Vargas responded that the world was for the just and honorable. Upon the eve of his departure Vargas appointed as commander of the government's forces General Páez, who took the field against the so-called reformers. Páez soon occupied Valencia and Caracas; and he captured Puerto Cabello on March 1, 1836. Soon afterwards, President Vargas, who had returned from exile, again resigned his office.

President Soublette.—Congress accepted his resignation, and Vice-President Narvarte, who succeeded Vargas,

soon gave way to Carlos Soublette, a conciliatory hero of the wars for independence. During this troubled period the United States acknowledged the independence of Venezuela. In January, 1836, a treaty of friendship and commerce was negotiated between those nations. By a law of February, 1837, the announcement was made that laws of Great Colombia which had suppressed certain monasteries should be in force in Venezuela. On March 30, 1837, President Soublette sanctioned a law providing that Spanish merchant vessels would be admitted into Venezuela's ports. On April 19, 1838, on behalf of Congress, Soublette presented a sword to General Páez in testimony of his services in defense of the Constitution and laws of Venezuela against revolutionary reformers.

Páez Again President.—In 1838 Páez was reëlected president. The years from 1839 to 1843 constituted another period of peace and progress for Venezuela. Her army was reduced to about one thousand men. The President soon persuaded Congress to adopt the policy of building roads between seaports and important cities of the republic. In April, 1839, Congress enacted a law granting more freedom to the press and providing for the punishment of such persons as might abuse that liberty. Another important law was passed that aimed to encourage immigration to Venezuela. A group of German immigrants was granted lands in the beautiful valley of Aragua. Páez issued a decree that made provision for the funding of the national debt. In May, 1841, he signed a law which provided for the establishment of a national bank with a capital of two and one-half million pesos. In accordance with a law directing the President to take measures to civilize the aborigines, he issued an ordinance for the regulation of missions that were to be established by friars in the province of Guiana. At the instance of Páez, in 1842 the remains of Simón Bolívar were transferred from a church in Santa Marta to the cathedral of Caracas. A treaty of commerce and navigation was negotiated between Venezuela and the King of Sweden and Norway. With Great Britain a treaty was arranged containing provisions that aimed to abolish the slave trade. During the decade from 1831 to 1841, Venezuela's imports and exports more than trebled in value.

Soublette Continues the Policies of Páez.—In 1843 General Carlos Soublette became president. In many particulars Soublette continued the policies of Páez. In June, 1843, an elaborate law was enacted containing regulations about Venezuelan universities. Another law made provisions concerning naval schools that had been established at Maracaibo and upon the island of Margarita. An appropriation was made to promote the construction of a highway between La Guaira and Caracas. A commercial code was enacted. An index of the prosperity of Venezuela is shown by the fact that from 1830 to 1845 her debt had been reduced from some nine million pesos to two million. By a treaty signed at Madrid on March 30, 1845, Spain acknowledged Venezuela's independence.

Political Parties.—The oligarchy which had ruled Venezuela under an electoral system restricting suffrage to owners of property—a party that aimed to maintain existing conditions—became known as the Conservative or *Godo* party. Members of that party, in the main, believed in the conservation of property and order, if necessary by military force. To oppose the Conservatives a party designated the Liberals had appeared. That anti-oligarchical party founded in 1840 a journal called *El Venezolano*. In the first number of this journal a Liberal named Antonio Leocadio Guzmán spoke of his followers as the "new men." His attacks upon the political domination of Páez and Soublette stimulated the opposition of the lower classes to the oligarchy. Antonio L. Guzmán was an unsuccessful candidate for the presidency in 1846 in opposition to General José Tadeo Monagas, who was supported by Páez.

José Tadeo Monagas.—One of the first acts of President Monagas was magnanimously to commute the punishment of Guzmán, who had been condemned to death because of the propaganda which he had directed in *El Venezolano* against the existing régime. That penalty the President commuted into perpetual exile. In truth Monagas was somewhat affected by liberal principles: his presidency was a period of transition in politics. In May, 1847, in accordance with a law of Colombia of 1824 which had declared that that republic had the right of patronage, he sanctioned a law providing for the

establishment of two new bishoprics. Bitter strife, however, soon took place between the President and Congress; for Monagas replaced a conservative cabinet with a liberal cabinet, and his policies were attacked by the conservative press. The oligarchy was contemplating the impeachment of the President, when on January 24, 1848, he dissolved Congress by force of arms. Against that coup d'état Páez protested, but the conservative oligarchy deserted him: the insurrectionary soldiers whom he led were defeated; and in 1850 he was forced into exile. Meantime Guzmán, who was elected vice-president in 1848, had returned to his native land.

José Gregorio Monagas.—José Tadeo Monagas—the founder of the so-called dynasty of the Monagas—was succeeded in 1851 by his brother, General José Gregorio. Another liberal oligarch, he was viewed askance by the followers of Guzmán and Páez alike. Two revolts against the younger Monagas were sternly repressed.

Slavery Abolished.—During his administration anti-slavery propaganda steadily increased. An animated discussion about negro slavery took place in Congress. On March 10, 1854, the President sent a message to Congress in which he cited Bolívar's statement that slavery was contrary to all laws and an infringement upon human dignity. He argued that Venezuela should no longer appear to the eyes of the world with the horrible stain of slavery. In the name of Venezuela and of her Constitution, he asked the congressmen—"with all the enthusiasm of his republican heart"—to abolish that institution. Congress approved these sentiments; and on March 24, 1854, Monagas signed a law which provided that slavery should be forever abolished in Venezuela. The law declared that freedmen should be exempt from any obligation for service and that they should enjoy the same liberty as born freemen. It provided that the owners of emancipated slaves should be paid indemnities out of the proceeds of certain taxes. It prohibited the importation of slaves into the republic, bondsmen who might be introduced should immediately enjoy their liberty.

Constitutional Changes under the Older Monagas.—In 1855 José Tadeo Monagas became president for the second time. In April, 1856, Congress enacted a law which pro-

vided that there were to be twenty provinces in the republic. That law gave to the President the right to appoint provisional governors for all the provinces. The electoral colleges of the respective provinces should at once proceed to elect Senators and Representatives. To the new Congress the President sent a message in January, 1857, which urged that the Constitution should be amended. This Congress framed an ephemeral fundamental law which was promulgated on April 10, 1857. That Constitution did not prohibit the immediate reelection of the President whose term was made six years. It conceded to him the exclusive power to appoint governors of provinces, while it granted certain autonomous rights to the cities. Still, a reactionary movement against the Constitution of 1857 was led by General Julian Castro, Monagas soon renounced the presidency, and a Convention was soon convoked to frame another fundamental law.

Páez and the Constitution of 1858.—The Convention assembled at Valencia, invited Páez to return from exile, and, after some discussion adopted a new Constitution. Somewhat more federalistic than the Constitution of 1830, the charter of 1858 provided that the governors of provinces should be elected by the voters and should act as agents of the national government. The President of the republic should be elected by universal suffrage. The adoption of this Constitution was followed by a protracted civil war between the Conservatives, who generally supported it, and the Liberals, who mostly wished a federal type of government. In March, 1861, General Páez returned to Venezuela. He gathered all the power into his own hands, abrogated the Constitution in September, 1861, and capped his picturesque career by becoming dictator. In 1862 he promulgated a civil code for Venezuela. As a consequence of some bloody conflicts, federalist leaders gained the ascendancy, however, and on May 22, 1863, agents of the contending factions signed an agreement which stipulated that hostilities should cease. This agreement provided that a National Assembly should be convoked to be composed of members selected in equal numbers by "the supreme chief of the republic," General Páez, and by General Juan Falcón, who was styled "the provisional president of the Federation." Páez faithfully promised to

transfer his power to the Assembly which was to establish a new government, pending the political reorganization of Venezuela. Páez and Falcón promised to use their influence to soothe the stormy passions which had been provoked by civil dissensions and to promote the establishment of a régime that would enable the republic to heal the wounds caused by internecine war. The "Founder of Venezuela"—as Páez has not inappropriately been called by admiring fellow countrymen—spent his last years in the United States.

Formation of the Venezuelan Confederation.—The National Assembly soon elected General Falcón president of the republic. His magnanimous spirit was displayed in a decree dated August 18, 1863, which guaranteed civil and political rights to all Venezuelan citizens in the most ample fashion. On March 28, 1864, the Assembly adopted a Constitution for "the United States of Venezuela." This Constitution declared the Venezuelan provinces to be autonomous states which retained all sovereign power that was not expressly delegated to the national government. Executive power was vested in a President who should be aided by secretaries. Legislative power was entrusted to a bicameral Congress. Supreme judicial authority was given to a high federal court which, among other powers, was granted jurisdiction over disputes between magistrates of different states. Falcón was soon elected president of the Confederation for four years.

Falcón Relinquishes the Presidency.—In May, 1867, the first President of the Venezuelan Confederation promulgated a new civil code for his country which was to go into force on October 28, 1867. He was much troubled by uprisings against his authority in various sections. Hence, upon more than one occasion, he temporarily transferred executive authority to a substitute and led his soldiers against rebels. His partisans pestered him with pleas for lucrative offices. In Congress unrelenting opposition to his policies reached a climax a few months before his term expired. At times the President fell into a mood that seemed weak or vacillating. To intimate friends Falcón ultimately made known his high resolution not to use military force against Congress. He declared that his native land could only be saved from disastrous strife by a miracle. Evidently believing that the oppo-

sition was directed against his personality, on May 2, 1868, he published an address to his fellow citizens informing them that he had transferred executive authority to his secretaries. He denounced the rebellion against his government as anti-patriotic, decried the fact that a cordial and sincere union of parties had not been effected, and ascribed his country's bitter misfortunes to a rebellious spirit. General José T. Monagas, who had become the leader of the party of opposition that was designated the *Azules*, soon led his victorious soldiers into the capital city. An exile from his *patria*, there expired in the island of Martinique the "Great Citizen"—as Congress had styled Falcón in the days of his glory.

Antonio Guzmán Blanco.—A leader soon emerged who put on the mantle that had fallen from the shoulders of Páez. In November, 1868, the Liberals left the new party, and under General Antonio Guzmán Blanco they rose in arms against Monagas. On April 27, 1870, the *Jaunes*—as the Liberals were designated—entered Caracas in triumph in the train of Guzmán Blanco, who was soon made provisional president. Armed opposition to the new régime was not thoroughly suppressed, however, until May, 1872, when Matías Salazar, a renegade associate of Guzmán Blanco, was defeated and executed. Magnetic, eloquent, and energetic, Guzmán Blanco, the eldest son of Antonio Guzmán, was an extraordinary personage. With extensive experience as a civil and a military administrator, either as Dictator or as President or through a substitute, he dominated Venezuelan politics for almost two decades.

His Reforms.—During that period he promoted certain reforms which had been initiated under previous presidents. On June 27, 1870, he issued a decree providing that public education should be gratuitous and obligatory and establishing a new tax for the support of elementary education. Soon afterwards he took steps to reorganize the national debt and to restore the public credit. In May, 1871, he issued a decree that regulated the coinage. He promoted the building of a railroad between Caracas and La Guaira. He provided for the construction of roads, bridges, customhouses, boulevards, and parks. His commissions prepared codes of civil and commercial law and of military and penal procedure. On January

1, 1873, he issued a decree which made civil marriage legal; and he also provided for the registration of vital statistics. Convents and monasteries were suppressed throughout Venezuela: their properties were sequestrated by the State. A famous church in the capital city was transformed into a national pantheon.

Adulation of Guzmán Blanco.—A grand master of the masonic order, Guzmán Blanco even dreamed of establishing a national Church that would be independent of the Papacy. Some of his fellow countrymen displayed a strong tendency to adulate him. Statues were erected in his honor. A boulevard which encircled a hill overlooking the capital city was given his name. Congress proclaimed him president for four years and bestowed upon him the title of "Illustrious American, Regenerator, Pacificator."

He Promotes Constitutional and Fiscal Changes.—Disgusted Liberals and former Conservatives who rose against the Illustrious American were forced to lay down their arms. It was due to his influence that in 1874 an Assembly framed another Constitution that provided for voting by ballot, that limited the President's term to two years, and that prohibited his reelection. Three years later the President quietly gave up his power and left ostensibly on a mission to seven European courts. Upon the death of his successor President Alcántara, Guzmán Blanco returned from Paris, and was proclaimed Supreme Director by a revolutionary party. As chief magistrate of Venezuela, on March 31, 1879, he issued a decree which provided that a coin called a bolívar should be the monetary unit. Soon afterwards he left the executive authority in the hands of Diego Urbaneja and made another visit to Paris.

Guzmán Blanco Elected Constitutional President.—In 1880 Guzmán Blanco was elected "Constitutional President" for two years. At his suggestion in 1881 a new Constitution was adopted which resembled the Constitution of Switzerland. This Constitution stipulated that there should be nine states in the Venezuelan Republic. It provided that the President and his substitute should be elected for two years by a federal council composed of Senators and Deputies. It established a tribunal of representatives of the states which was desig-

nated the court of cassation. In 1882 the federal council elected Guzmán Blanco president. The following year—which was the centenary of Bolívar's birth—was made memorable in Venezuela. An academy, that was a correspondent of the Royal Spanish Academy, was inaugurated at Caracas. The railroad between Caracas and La Guaira was opened to traffic. At Venezuela's expense there were published the memoirs of General O'Leary, an aide-de-camp of Bolívar. Meantime one young Venezuelan journalist after another took up the pen against the Dictator who was not always benevolent.

President Crespo.—In 1884, after substitutes had exercised presidential authority in place of Guzmán Blanco, who had again proceeded to Europe as envoy extraordinary, Joaquín Crespo was elected president. Crespo was a lieutenant of the Illustrious American who had worthily occupied important civil and military offices. President Crespo promoted internal improvements and public instruction. He strove to preserve the autonomy of the states and to protect the aborigines. His nation's credit he upheld despite the economic stress due to a plague of locusts. After suppressing revolts in the eastern part of the republic, he treated their leaders with magnanimity. Upon being accused of forsaking the political views of Guzmán Blanco, he published a defense of his absent chief. When he relinquished his authority to make way for that personage who was elected president in April, 1886, Congress appropriately bestowed upon him the title of the "Hero of Duty."

Guzmán Blanco Retires.—In a short time Guzmán Blanco transmitted his authority as president to a member of his council; and in July, 1887, he again proceeded to Europe on a diplomatic mission. In 1888 Dr. Juan Rojas Paul, whose candidacy had been supported by Guzmán Blanco, became president. In October, 1888, a violent reaction took place against the illustrious but absent Dictator—the people of the capital city cast his statues to the earth. A Venezuelan historian states that a group of young men offered to Crespo the head from a statue of his discredited leader but that Crespo refused to accept it, saying that that glory belonged not to him but to the President. After this incident the absent

Dictator relinquished any hope he may have entertained of longer dominating Venezuelan politics. Proposals to reform the Constitution so as to extend the chief magistrate's term of office encouraged the following President, Raimundo Andueza Palacio, to lay plans to retain his power beyond the term fixed by the Constitution. A group of congressmen and other officials vigorously opposed that projected change in the legal order.

La Revolución Legalista.—Those publicists invited General Joaquín Crespo to lead a small band which opposed the threatened usurpation. Crespo accordingly became the chief of *La Revolución Legalista*. After bloody encounters with the well-equipped soldiers of the government, and after thwarting the attempts of other aspiring leaders to acquire the supreme power, on October 6, 1892, that revolutionary leader entered Caracas. Upon October 7 Crespo issued a decree announcing that he had assumed the executive power and appointing his secretaries. He published a broadside declaring that the Venezuelans had recovered their sovereignty, that he would guarantee to them their civil and political rights, and that all the decrees and laws of the republic which were not antagonistic to the legitimist revolution would be in force. He convoked a National Convention which adopted a new Constitution for the United States of Venezuela that was promulgated on July 5, 1893. This Constitution provided that the President should be elected by secret, popular vote for four years. It contained some suggestive provisions about the respective rights of Venezuelans and of aliens. Foreigners in Venezuela were to enjoy all the civil rights which her citizens enjoyed; and in case of necessity, might have recourse to the same legal proceedings as Venezuelans. The right of property was expressly guaranteed to citizens: their possessions might be taken from them only by legislative act or judicial decree. Without due process of law no Venezuelan might be deprived of his liberty for political reasons. Every public contract was to contain a clause providing that controversies arising under it were to be decided by tribunals of Venezuela and according to her laws.

Crespo's Second Presidency: Boundary Dispute with England.—The National Assembly formally approved all

acts which Crespo had performed either as revolutionary leader or as chief executive. After being duly elected President, he was inaugurated on March 14, 1894. During his second presidency a dispute with England about the boundary of British Guiana assumed a menacing aspect. The dispute originated from conflicting claims to portions of the territory ordinarily designated Guiana. Expanding from the colony definitively acquired by England from Holland in 1814, English traders and settlers slowly but surely penetrated into a region to which Venezuela claimed title because of decrees of the Spanish King. Various attempts to settle the controversy were vain: meantime the English pushed farther and farther into the debatable land. As England refused to submit the dispute to arbitration, Venezuela eventually broke off diplomatic relations with her, and appealed to the United States for aid or redress. In 1895 Secretary Olney sent a trenchant dispatch to the United States minister in London which gave a most liberal interpretation to the Monroe Doctrine and which declared that the Anglo-Venezuelan boundary dispute came within the purview of the Doctrine. President Cleveland took the same view in a vigorous message to Congress. Partly because of the belligerent attitude which was assumed by Cleveland, England decided to submit the dispute to arbitration but upon the express condition that the possession of land during fifty years should be judged to constitute a good title. In view of that principle the arbitral board awarded the major portion of the territory in dispute to England, while Venezuela was conceded a clear title to valuable territory at the Orinoco's mouth.

Revolution Led by the "Lion of the Andes."—Before the Anglo-Venezuelan boundary controversy was adjusted, Crespo was succeeded by General Ignacio Andrade, who had been serving as Venezuela's minister at Washington. An insurrection against President Andrade was suppressed by forces under the command of General Crespo who was unfortunately killed. Crespo left behind him a deserved reputation for probity and patriotism inferior to that of no other Venezuelan since the age of Bolívar. In the night of May 23, 1899, from the banks of the river Tachirá, General Cipriano Castro, "the lion of the Andes," with a few supporters

launched an insurrection. Upon the following day General Castro issued a manifesto denouncing the policy of Congress which had virtually authorized a dictatorship, asserting that the President had infringed the Constitution, and announcing that he opposed farces and tyranny. The tree of liberty, exclaimed Castro, had to be fertilized by more Venezuelan blood!

Castro Becomes President.—Andrade soon fled from the capital city, and the supreme chief of the revolution for the restoration of liberalism—as Castro described himself—entered Caracas in October, 1899. At the request of Congress, the “Supreme Chief of the Republic”—as he now styled himself—became Provisional President in February, 1901. In July, 1902, shortly after being chosen “Constitutional President,” he temporarily transferred his civil authority to Vice-President Gómez and left the capital in order to quell revolts.

Blockade by European War Ships.—Foreign complications soon arose to trouble President Castro because of Venezuela's reluctance to pay claims of European citizens. Largely through frequent revolts and civil wars foreigners residing in Venezuela had suffered injuries for which they demanded indemnities. Because of such disturbances Venezuela had been unable to pay the interest upon indebtedness incurred for the construction of railways. Citizens of England, Germany, and Italy consequently appealed to their governments for indemnities through diplomatic channels. As those governments failed to secure such redress, they decided to blockade Venezuelan ports. Accordingly in 1902 English, German, and Italian warships undertook a pacific blockade of La Guaira and Puerto Cabello. When this developed into a warlike blockade, Castro published an indignant protest. President Roosevelt threatened to send the United States fleet against the blockading squadron, and an arrangement was then reached between Venezuela and the creditor nations by which the claims were submitted to mixed commissions for arbitration. Those commissions adjudged that Venezuela should pay her creditors sums which fell far below the exorbitant demands that had originally been made.

Venezuela under the Constitution of 1904.—On April 27, 1904, a Congress that had been convoked by Castro adopted another Constitution. That Constitution provided a framework of government which was federal in type. Executive authority was vested in a President and two Vice-Presidents. Legislative authority was given to a Congress composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies. Judicial authority was conferred upon a supreme court which was granted jurisdiction over cases arising between states and the federal government. The thirteen states that composed the Venezuelan Union were declared to be autonomous and equal. Article XV denied the right of either citizens or foreigners to urge claims for damages caused by revolutionists. In June, 1905, the electoral college unanimously elected Castro president for six years. During the period of his rule he sedulously promoted public improvements in the capital city and throughout the states. Widely separated sections of the republic he linked together by telegraph lines. He provided for the construction of good roads between important towns and cities, as between San Felipe and Puerto Cabello. He embellished Caracas with parks, statues, and substantial public buildings which—like the treasury building—still attest the beneficent effects of his régime. Upon the other side, many persons, whether citizens or foreigners, who were suspected of being disaffected toward the government, were arbitrarily incarcerated by Castro. His rule, in fact, became a thinly-veiled dictatorship.

Castro Succeeded by Vice-President Gómez.—Upon the plea of ill health, in April, 1906, Castro retired from the presidency and transferred his authority to Vice-President Gómez. But differences in regard to the management of governmental affairs soon arose between Gómez and the ex-President; and on July 5, 1906, Castro reassumed the powers of president. His refusal to redress the injuries that had been suffered by United States citizens or to submit their claims to arbitration caused that government to suspend diplomatic relations with Venezuela. When, in the end of 1908, he decided upon a trip to Europe—apparently to undergo a surgical operation—his hour came. Scarcely had his ship sailed, when dissatisfaction with his domination became so

strong that Congress suspended him from the presidency, started an inquest into his administration, and made Vice-President Juan V. Gómez, a prominent landowner and military officer, the chief magistrate. In response to a protest from Castro, Congress accused him of malfeasance in office and expressed its confidence in Gómez. On November 23, 1908, Gómez made known his intention to retain the existing cabinet. In May following he promulgated a decree which announced that he was exercising the powers of the Venezuelan President. He effectively suppressed opposition to his rule in certain sections.

Gómez Becomes Provisional President.—On December 19, 1909, Gómez was loudly acclaimed as provisional president. He expressed his desire to observe constitutional guaranties, to preserve liberty and order, to respect the sovereignty of the states, to promote industry, to seek a decorous solution for disputes with other nations, to preserve peace and harmony, and to maintain the sovereignty of the law. When Gómez made known to the government at Washington his desire to settle satisfactorily the pending dispute about claims of United States citizens, that government took steps to resume diplomatic relations with Venezuela. Success attended the measures which he took to adjust the claims of French citizens against Venezuela for injuries suffered in that country during Castro's régime.

The Constitution of 1909.—In August, 1909, a new Constitution was promulgated. That Constitution vested executive authority in a President who should hold office for four years and should not be eligible for reelection for the ensuing term. He should be aided by a council of government and by a cabinet. A bicameral legislature, a court of cassation, and other courts were provided. Twenty political entities, as established by law in 1856, were acknowledged as states. Those "autonomous" states were to frame their own constitutions.

Gómez Elected President.—On August 27, 1910, General Gómez was elected president. He called to his council table some of the most inveterate revolutioners and able publicists of his country. Profiting doubtless by their advice, President Gómez initiated reforms in various branches of public administration. The tariff laws were revised and de-

liberate attempts were made to encourage foreign commerce. So much did the financial condition of Venezuela improve that a number of foreign claims were paid. By a decree of July, 1911, the revolutionary debt of Venezuela and other national debts were converted into the national internal debt. The diplomatic and consular service was improved: consuls were appointed to posts where there had not been any since the age of Guzmán Blanco; and provision was made for six foreign legations of the first class. By a decree of May 18, 1912, the decimal system was adopted for use by state and national governments. A special feature of this administration was the attention paid to the construction and improvement of important roads. As ex-President Castro tried to to regain his power, early in August, 1913, President Gómez entrusted his civil authority to José Gil Fortoul, president of the council of government, and left the capital to wage a campaign for the restoration of order and tranquillity. The partisans of Castro were suppressed, and early in January, 1914, General Gómez entered Caracas at the head of his victorious soldiers. At once he reassumed the President's functions. Among admiring Venezuelans, his régime is known as the government of "national rehabilitation."

Constitution of 1914.—Shortly afterwards, a Congress of Deputies was convoked, and in June, 1914, a new fundamental law was adopted for the United States of Venezuela. The Constitution of 1914 vested executive authority in a President who should be chosen for seven years by Congress in secret election. His substitute should be a cabinet minister to be selected by the President himself. Among the extensive powers which were conferred upon the President was the right to arrest, to expel, or to exclude pernicious foreigners, and the privilege to change the seat of the national government. The Senate should be made up of two Senators selected by the legislature of each state who were to hold office for three years. The House of Deputies should be composed of members elected for the same term as Senators by direct vote in the states, the territories, and the federal district. Supreme judicial power was vested in the court of cassation. Inferior courts were to be established by law. Among the cases over which the court of cassation had jurisdiction were

disputes that might arise either between magistrates of different states or between states and the federal union. It was also to take cognizance of controversies that might arise from contracts or negotiations sanctioned by the President. The states were declared to have all authority that was not delegated by the Constitution to the national government. They were to frame their own constitutions.

Special Provisions.—Two articles of the new Constitution proved to be of prime significance. Article CXXXVII stipulated that the Provisional President and the Vice-Presidents of the republic should hold their offices until the new constitutional magistrates were inaugurated. The following article stipulated that the commander in chief of the national army should exercise his functions until the inauguration of the republic's Constitutional President.

The New Constitution Put into Operation.—Meantime Gómez had relinquished the presidency. On April 19, 1914, the Congress of Deputies had elected Victoriano Márquez Bustillos, who had been secretary of war and the navy, provisional president. Congress also elected ex-President Gómez commander in chief of the national army. After being approved by the legislatures of the states, the new Constitution went into force in June, 1914. During the following months the states reorganized their administrative régimes. On May 3, 1915, the first Congress chosen under the new Constitution unanimously elected General Gómez president for the term ending April 19, 1922. Yet the president-elect did not assume the President's duties: in accordance with special provisions of the Constitution, the Provisional President continued to exercise the functions of chief magistrate, while General Gómez—evidently believing that military authority would enable him to promote peace and institutional development in Venezuela—remained at the head of the army. Yet he continued to play an important rôle in politics. The declination of the president-elect to assume the functions of President—while remaining the military chieftain during the term for which he had been chosen chief executive—is without a parallel in the strange chronicles of Latin America.

Conditions on the Eve of the World War: Boundary Disputes with South American Nations.—Since the dis-

ruption of "Great Colombia," Venezuela has had boundary disputes with Brazil and Colombia. Negotiations with Brazil for the demarcation of the frontiers began as early as 1843. Sixteen years later the governments of Brazil and Venezuela signed a treaty which sketched a boundary line between their territories, and provided for the appointment of commissioners to survey the line. That boundary was surveyed by 1880; but part of the line was in a sense obliterated by the decision of the Spanish King concerning the limits between Venezuela and Colombia. By a protocol signed in Caracas in 1905 between diplomats of Brazil and Venezuela that part of the Brazilian-Venezuelan boundary line which had been surveyed by the commissioners was mutually acknowledged as the true boundary. In 1914 a mixed commission proceeded to place marks along another part of this boundary. As regards the limits between Venezuela and Colombia, in 1881 both powers agreed to submit the dispute to the arbitration of the Spanish monarch, who was to determine the line which in 1810 separated the captaincy general of Venezuela from the viceroyalty of New Granada. In the award made by that monarch on March 16, 1891, he drew a boundary line between the two states which had sprung from "Great Colombia." Acrimonious correspondence, however, took place between the governments of Venezuela and Colombia about that line, mixed commissions only determined a part of it, and Colombia occupied districts which belonged to her. Upon at least one occasion the sister nations were on the brink of war. Some time after the World War broke out, they decided to submit the dispute to the arbitration of the federal council of Switzerland which was to entrust to Swiss engineers the exact demarcation of the boundary.

Revolutionary Tendencies and Immigration.—In the second decade of the nineteenth century Venezuela had the appearance of a country that was revolution-weary. It has been estimated that within three-quarters of a century she had suffered from fifty revolts or revolutions. Frequent revolutionary disturbances have indubitably exercised a deterrent influence upon immigration to Venezuela. Various attempts by law to encourage foreigners to settle there have met with slight success. In recent years immigration has at times al-

most been balanced by emigration: in 1905 the total number of arrivals in Venezuela from foreign lands was 5929, while the total number of departures for abroad was 5519. In 1912 the net increase by immigration was 1634.

Population.—It is scarcely correct to say that the Venezuelan aborigines have been absorbed into the Spanish-speaking population. The Venezuelan people much resemble the Colombian people. The upper class in large cities of Venezuela is largely of Spanish descent; the lower classes are somewhat mixed; on the coast is found a negro element; and in the interior are many Indians. Upon the distant frontiers are more than a dozen tribes of aborigines who have scarcely been affected by civilization. According to official statistics, on January 1, 1905, the population of Venezuela was 2,598,063 souls; and on January 1, 1913, her population was only 2,755,638.

Religion.—Religious orders are excluded from Venezuela by law. There the Church is not affiliated with the State as in Colombia. The Constitution of 1914 declares that Venezuelans are guaranteed religious liberty in accordance with the laws and subject to the supervision of the federal executive.

Economic Condition.—Agriculture, cattle raising, and manufactures are the main industries. In fertile valleys of Venezuela many large plantations are devoted to the culture of coffee, cacao, sugar, and cotton. Large herds of cattle, goats, horses, and sheep rove over her hills and grassy plains. As in other Latin-American countries, the factories of Venezuela are engaged for the most part in the transformation of native products. The chief manufactures are lumber, leather, cotton goods, cocoanut oil, cigarettes, and chocolate. The twelve most important exports in 1912-1913 were coffee, 86,881,848 bolivares; cacao, 20,794,165; balata, 11,962,192; hides, 9,345,154; gold, 2,754,225; tonka beans, 2,707,753; rubber, 2,334,709; asphalt, 1,758,518; heron feathers 1,420,235; cattle, 1,157,468; raw sugar, 179,960; and pearls, 68,550. Those values are given in bolivares; as the monetary unit of Venezuela is nominally the gold bolívar which under normal conditions is the equivalent of the franc.

Public Debt.—Since 1908 the financial condition of Venezuela has much improved. On December 31, 1913, her internal debt—which included the obligations inherited from “Great Colombia”—had been reduced to 61,607,251 bolivares. Her external debt, which was largely composed of so-called diplomatic debts, amounted to 114,853,071 bolivares. In all Venezuela’s public debt amounted in round numbers to some \$35,000,000, United States currency.

Transportation.—Largely because of her topography and location Venezuela has a better transportation system than Colombia. Upon the eve of the World War steamships from Europe and the United States touched regularly at La Guaira, Puerto Cabello, and Cumaná. Spanish vessels regularly made trips between Barcelona, Havana, Panama, and Venezuelan ports. A line from the United States made trips between Puerto Cabello, La Guaira, Maracaibo, and New York City. Ships plied with regularity on the Orinoco River. Still, Venezuela had only some five hundred miles of railroad, which were mostly lines from Caracas to other important cities. Her railroad system, however, was supplemented by a system of excellent roads.

Education.—For a considerable period educational facilities in Venezuela were extremely poor. In rural districts much teaching was done by parish priests. Since 1870, however, a decided improvement has taken place. In part elementary education has been supported by the nation, in part by the states, and in part by municipalities. Secondary education was mainly carried on in *colegios* that were attended by boys and girls. Official statistics showed that in 1912 Venezuela had 2698 elementary schools; more than one-half of those had only one teacher; and some of them were private schools. The total enrollment was 85,750 pupils. In 62 graded schools, which ordinarily had six teachers apiece, there were in the same year 7099 pupils. Separate schools of arts and crafts had been established for boys and girls at Caracas. A school of engineering was also located there. At Puerto Cabello was an academy of naval construction. In addition Venezuela had seminaries of philosophy and divinity, besides normal schools. Higher education was furnished by the universities of Caracas, Los Andes, and Mérida. In those

universities considerable attention was paid to the study of law, medicine, and theology. On December 19, 1914, an important law was enacted concerning national instruction. That law recognized five branches of education: primary, secondary, normal, superior, and special. Primary education was declared to be obligatory for all children from seven to fourteen years of age.

Venezuelan Poetry.—No nation of Latin America has produced a literature more characteristic of her life than Venezuela. Here, too, the earliest literary figure is Andrés Bello, who wrote verses before he left Venezuelan soil. Rafael M. Baralt, who resided in Madrid, wrote a standard history of his native land and also composed poems. Upon his plantation on the river Choroní, José A. Maitín wrote poems that contain suggestive descriptions of Venezuelan life and scenery. José A. Calcano, a member of a literary family, wrote lyric poems in which he used his native land as a background. A national note was struck by Juan Vicente González, the author of *Mesenianas*, that is a series of flowery eulogies upon certain national leaders. Cecilio Acosta was a learned and versatile Venezuelan who wrote poems and essays, besides studies of national and international politics. A poet named Juan Antonio Pérez Bonalde added a philosophic note to Venezuelan poetry: his *Vuelta á la patria* and *Poema del Niagara* are widely known.

Prose.—Venezuelan novelists have a flavor of their own. Julio Calcano not only composed a novel about the Italian renaissance which he entitled *Blanca de Torestellá*, but also compiled a book upon the peculiarities of the Castilian language as it was used in Venezuela. *Peonía*, a novel by Manuel Romero García, that dealt with life on a Venezuelan plantation, marked the definite beginning of the so-called creole influence in Venezuelan fiction. Another author who has published novels of the same type and also poems is Rufino Blanco-Fombona. His famous story of *Hombre de hierro* depicts Venezuelan revolutions. Imprisoned by President Gómez, upon being liberated Blanco-Fombona went to Europe where he published a select edition of Bolívar's correspondence and reprinted Spanish-American historical works. José Gil Fortoul belongs to the same school as Blanco-Fombona but

has a very different life history. Poet, novelist, philosopher, and publicist, he established his reputation as a historian by writing a constitutional history of Venezuela, which, however, remains unfinished. Of him and of other Venezuelan litterateurs who may not be mentioned here we may read in Picón-Febres excellent survey entitled *Literatura venezolana en el siglo XIX*.

Fine Arts.—Felipe Larrazábal founded a conservatory of music in Caracas about 1868. Subsequently Venezuelan composers produced many pieces of music. The annals of painting in Venezuela go back to the days of Pedro Lovera who founded a school for artists in the capital city. Later the *Sociedad de Amigos del País* established an academy of painting there which was ably directed by Antonio J. Carranza. One of his disciples named Manuel Cruz produced a painting which depicted the soldiers of Bolívar fording the river Apure. Venezuelan artists went abroad to study in the ateliers of Paris and Rome. Ultimately Venezuelan artistic genius blossomed in Martín Tovar y Tovar and Arturo Michelena. Tovar y Tovar produced a noteworthy series of paintings, mainly of a historical character. Among those were a canvas depicting the battle of Ayacucho, and a famous picture of the members of the Venezuelan Congress signing the Declaration of Independence. His representations of crucial battles in the Venezuelan War for Independence are among the most pleasing mural decorations in the elliptical hall of the "federal palace" at Caracas. Arturo Michelena produced some genre and religious paintings. Among his best-known productions are a picture—*Vuelvan Cara*—which represents a dramatic episode in the military career of Páez; an equestrian portrait of Simón Bolívar; and a painting which portrays Francisco de Miranda in a dungeon at Cadiz. Among Venezuelan sculptors two names, at least, should be mentioned: Eloy Palacios, who made statues of heroes of the revolutionary epoch, besides one of José M. Vargas; and Rafael de la Cova who modeled statues of Bolívar that were cast in bronze.

Provisional President Márquez Bustillos.—In his message to Congress on April 28, 1916, Provisional President Márquez Bustillos expressed his gratitude to General Gómez

for advice furnished in regard to solutions for pressing problems of state. In a message to Congress upon the same day Gómez stated that he would assume the presidency of the republic whenever he might consider such a step convenient and opportune. Thus it was that, in general, the Provisional President of Venezuela had evidently pursued policies sponsored either by the president-elect or by that dignitary's advisers. Toward the end of 1916 Márquez Bustillos issued decrees providing for the construction of two great highways that were to run from the capital city through the eastern and the western portions of Venezuela. His secretary of public works soon projected other roads that were designed to link coastal towns and cities with settlements upon the banks of the Orinoco. The Acting President issued decrees which radically modified the system of higher education: a school of political science, a school of dentistry, and a school of pharmacy were founded at Caracas. Similarly there were established in that city in 1917 a museum of natural history and an institute of fine arts. In December of that year a revised civil code went into force. A school of wireless telegraphy was created for the training of military and naval officers. A law was promulgated in June, 1919, which made military service compulsory for adult male citizens, with some exceptions. In time of peace every man was obliged to serve for two years either in the army or the navy, while in war time he could be constrained to serve during the pleasure of the President. About the same time a bureau was organized in the department of foreign relations which was entrusted with the task of promoting the foreign commerce of Venezuela.

Venezuela and the World War.—Even before General Gómez became president-elect, Venezuela had experienced the ill effects of the World War. The cost of some necessities of life increased. A sharp decrease in the amount of Venezuela's dutiable imports soon caused her customs revenues to decline. As early as August, 1914, the government issued a decree that abolished certain offices and decreased official salaries twenty-five per cent. This retrenchment was followed by other economies: thus the national credit was maintained intact. During the same month the Venezuelan government

informed national and state officials that it would maintain a strict neutrality during the War. Venezuela soon attempted to promote the convocation of a congress of delegates from American nations to consider the rights of neutral powers. After being informed by the Venezuelan minister in Washington of the policy which the United States was pursuing toward Germany, on February 14, 1917, the secretary of foreign relations sent that minister a cablegram declaring that the policy of Venezuela would accord with the principles of international law and with the relations of peace and friendship which she had with all the belligerents. Soon afterwards the United States minister at Caracas was informed that, while fulfilling her duties as a neutral, Venezuela would not relinquish any of her rights. Certain of Venezuela's leaders deeply sympathized with the United States in the World War, yet, as their country was not directly affected by the German submarine campaign, she adhered to her policy of neutrality throughout the struggle.

Summary.—Venezuela has not been so backward in her economic development as Colombia. This has been so, partly because of a more advantageous geographical position, partly because the problem of intercommunication in Venezuela is scarcely so serious, and partly because her government has recently much improved transportation facilities by the construction of good roads. Then, too, Venezuela's capital city is located where quick communication may be had with the West Indies and the United States. From the viewpoint of territorial possessions, Venezuela has retrograded since 1831; she has been constrained to relinquish territory to Brazil and to England, and seems destined to lose to Colombia other regions to which she has asserted a title. In the elements of her population Venezuela so far resembles Colombia in that a cultured capable, and progressive aristocracy of wealth or culture reposes upon the labor of ignorant, mixed classes. Venezuelan political history has been marked by odd contrasts: with influential leaders like Simón Bolívar and Antonio Guzmán, whose addresses and writings contain passages imbued with a lofty patriotism that is sometimes democratic, it has nevertheless been checkered by lamentable lapses into arbitrary government. Venezuela has not yet redeemed her-

self from the reputation which she acquired under Castro of being one of those countries of South America where infringements of personal liberty and arbitrary imprisonments were perhaps most frequent. From a fiscal viewpoint the Venezuelan nation should be happy: her finances have recently been so carefully husbanded that they are now upon a much better basis than those of either Ecuador or Colombia. Like those countries, Venezuela should share in increasing measure in the advantages that are bound to flow from the completion of the Panama Canal.

CHAPTER XVII

CUBA, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, AND THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS

CUBA

Cuba, 1823-1895.—In the second decade of the nineteenth century revolutionary breezes from the mainland reached the Spanish colonies in the West Indies. Although conspiracies were formed and revolts broke out in Cuba, yet its inhabitants did not gain their political autonomy. A guerrilla warfare that began in 1868 ended in the capitulation of the insurgents in February, 1878. By a decree of March 1, 1878, Spain granted the Cubans representation in the Cortes. Subsequently the Spanish Constitution, the Spanish code of civil procedure, and the Spanish civil code were extended to Cuba as well as to Porto Rico. Still, at the opening of the last decade of the nineteenth century, the evils of maladministration were no less keenly felt in Cuba than they had been in the adjacent continent. The Spaniard clutched the "Pearl of the Antilles" with the tenacity of a disappointed Imperialist.

The Revolt of 1895.—In 1895 Máximo Gómez led a bloody revolt in Cuba against Spanish domination. During the ensuing struggle Spain resorted to the extreme policy of concentrating defenseless Cubans in camps which were encircled by soldiers and barb wire. Valuable property belonging to Cubans, Spaniards, and United States citizens was destroyed. In his message to Congress on December 7, 1896, President Cleveland said that the obligations of the United States to the sovereignty of Spain might be superseded by higher obligations.

Explosion of the "Maine."—The explosion of the United States battleship "Maine" in the harbor of Havana on February 15, 1898, which killed about two hundred and fifty citizens of the United States, brought public opinion in that

country to the fighting point. Her ambassador at Madrid was instructed to present an ultimatum to Spain asking for immediate peace in Cuba through the good offices of his government. Although at last Spain reluctantly granted the demands of the United States, yet her concessions were considered by that government as mere attempts to gain time.

The United States Congress Authorizes Intervention.—

On April 11, 1898, President McKinley sent a message to Congress which argued that forcible intervention was the only remedy for Cuba's ills. After some debate, on April 19 Congress adopted a joint resolution which contained the following declarations: (1) that the Cubans were independent; (2) that the United States demanded that Spain should relinquish her authority over Cuba at once; (3) that the President was authorized to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry out these resolutions; and (4) that the United States government disclaimed any intention to exercise control over Cuba except for her pacification and asserted its intention to leave the government and the control of the island to her own people.

War between Spain and the United States.—This was equivalent to a declaration of war. After the President signed the resolution on April 20, the Spanish minister at Washington asked for his passports, the American minister left Madrid, and the navy of the United States was ordered to blockade Cuba. The war which ensued was short and decisive. On June 14, 1898, United States soldiers left Florida for Cuba; and on July 17 Santiago de Cuba capitulated. Article I of the treaty of peace between Spain and the United States which was signed at Paris on December 10, 1898, provided that Spain should relinquish her sovereignty over Cuba and Porto Rico. The government of the United States undertook to protect life and property in Cuba as long as her occupation lasted.

Occupation of Cuba by United States Soldiers.—Until May, 1902, Cuba was occupied by United States soldiers. On January 1, 1899, General John R. Brooke, military governor of Cuba, issued a proclamation announcing the intentions of his government. He declared that the United States intended to give protection to the people of Cuba, announced

that the civil and criminal codes which formerly prevailed there would remain in force, and urged that the Cubans should coöperate in the work of rehabilitation. Over each of the seven provinces of Cuba was placed a military officer. The civil administration of the island was soon entrusted to four secretaries. During the first year of occupation by United States soldiers significant changes were made in Cuban administration: some Spanish taxes were abolished; civil marriage was made legally valid; and steps were taken to prepare a census. In November, 1899, an order was issued for the establishment of a department of public instruction. On December 20 of that year General Leonard Wood succeeded General Brooke as military governor. Under Governor Wood measures were taken to standardize Cuban schools. United States army surgeons much improved sanitary conditions upon the island and demonstrated that yellow fever was transmitted by the female *stegomyia* mosquito. During the second year of occupation attempts were made to reform Cuban courts and legal processes.

Political Reorganization.—Steps were also taken for the reorganization of civil government in the island. In accordance with an order of the military governor, municipal elections were held on June 16, 1900. On July 25 an order was issued directing that elections should be held for the choice of delegates to a convention to adopt a constitution which should contain stipulations about the relations between the government of Cuba and the government of the United States. This convention was also to make arrangements for the election of Cuban magistrates to whom governmental authority should be transferred. Those delegates assembled at Havana on November 5, 1900: on February 21, 1901, they signed the Constitution of the Cuban republic.

Constitution of Cuba.—That Constitution vested executive power in a President, a Vice-President, and a cabinet. The President was to be chosen by an electoral college. Legislative power was granted to a Congress composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate should be made up of four members from each province chosen by electoral colleges. The House of Representatives should be composed of members elected by popular vote. Judicial authority was

vested in a supreme court and such other courts as might be provided by law. The unit of local organization was the province. Each of the six provinces should be administered by a governor and a provincial council elected by the people. Certain powers were specifically granted to the provinces. Municipal districts should be governed by mayors and local councils. Among the transitory provisions of the Constitution was a clause providing that the Cuban republic should recognize public debts that had been legitimately contracted by the insurgent government. As originally adopted, the Constitution contained no provision about future relations between Cuba and the United States.

The Platt Amendment.—On March 2, 1901, certain clauses concerning Cuba and the United States which had been inserted in the army appropriation bill of the United States at the instance of Senator Platt became law. This law, ordinarily known as the Platt Amendment, provided that the Cuban republic would never enter into any compact with a foreign power which might impair her independence, that she would contract no excessive debt, that the acts of the United States in Cuba during the Spanish war were validated, that the Cuban government would carry out certain plans for the sanitation of the island, that the new republic would lease to the United States the lands necessary for coaling stations, and that the United States government might exercise the right to intervene in Cuba to preserve her independence and to maintain a government capable of protecting life, property, and individual liberty, as well as to discharge such obligations imposed by the Treaty of Paris upon the United States as were assumed by the government of Cuba. After a vain attempt to modify the Platt Amendment, on June 12, 1901, the Constitutional Convention made it a part of the Cuban Constitution.

President Estrada Palma.—The Constitutional Convention also adopted a law which provided that a general election should be held on December 31, 1901. On February 24, 1902, the presidential electors met and chose Tomás Estrada Palma as president of Cuba. Estrada Palma was inaugurated on May 20, 1902. In the following year a

reciprocity treaty was negotiated with the United States. A Liberal party developed that opposed the policies of the President, who became the leader of the Conservatives. Political dissensions soon culminated in uprisings against the government. Ages of revolt and civil war in Cuba had apparently fostered a revolutionary spirit. Hence in September, 1906, the Cuban government appealed to the United States. President Roosevelt sent Secretaries Taft and Bacon to Havana to reconcile the discordant factions. After conferences with various leaders these commissioners proposed that certain magistrates should resign, that the insurgents should lay down their arms, and that new elections should be held. Yet this compromise was unacceptable to the Cubans; on September 28 President Estrada Palma and his cabinet resigned; and after Congress received the President's resignation, it adjourned without electing a successor.

Second Occupation by the United States.—Taft accordingly proclaimed a provisional government which was to conform, so far as possible, to the Cuban Constitution. He declared that his object was to restore order, peace, and confidence, and to reestablish a permanent government in Cuba. The Cuban insurgents and the militia were then disarmed; and a proclamation of amnesty was issued. Soon afterwards Charles E. Magoon assumed the duties of provisional governor; officers of the United States army were stationed in Cuba. During the second military occupation by the United States tranquillity was maintained in the island, public improvements were introduced into towns and cities, and the criminal and electoral laws were revised.

Restoration of Home Rule.—In November, 1908, a general election was held. Members of Congress and electors of President and Vice-President were chosen. The Cuban Congress assembled on January 23, 1909, and after scrutinizing the election returns, it announced that General José Miguel Gómez, a Liberal leader who had fought against Spain in the revolt of 1895, had been elected president. On January 28, 1909, Gómez was inaugurated, Magoon left the island, and the army of occupation was

soon withdrawn. The Cuban Congress passed a law granting amnesty to many political offenders but adjourned without acting definitively upon the budget. In November, 1910, were held the first congressional elections under the new régime.

Political Problems.—At that juncture the Liberal party divided into two factions: a moderate group which advocated the abrogation of the Platt Amendment; and a radical faction which demanded the enactment of the anti-clerical legislation. In certain sections of Cuba negro politicians took steps toward the organization of a political party which was to include in its ranks all colored voters. In 1911 criticism of the government reached a climax: complaints of extravagance and corruption were made against the Gómez administration. Some of the charges were as follows: that national offices were virtually disposed of to the highest bidders, that franchises conveying public service privileges were sold to grasping concessionaires, and that there was graft in projects for harbor improvements. Dissensions, riots, and armed uprisings induced the government of the United States to take measures preparatory to intervention. In the presidential campaign of April, 1912, the Conservative candidate, General Mario García Menocal, was elected president.

Cuba under Menocal.—The inauguration of President Menocal took place on May 20, 1913. In response to a congratulatory message from President Wilson, the new chief magistrate expressed his intention "to cement the friendly relations" that bound Cuba to the United States. In a message to Congress Menocal promised a prudent government and advocated fiscal reform. He soon took steps to abrogate certain concessions that had been made during the Gómez régime. He had difficulties with Congress about the budget, but that body eventually sanctioned a loan of fifteen million pesos to pay outstanding debts and to finance internal improvements. The United States did not altogether release the Cubans from leading-strings, for in 1914 she made known her opposition to a proposed amnesty law because it did not seem designed to promote the preservation of law and order.

Social Condition.—Her insular position and the existence of over 2,000 miles of railroads, besides good highways, give Cuba one of the best transportation systems in Latin America. Steamship lines connect her ports with the United States and with the leading countries of Europe. Her population in 1914 was estimated at somewhat less than 2,500,000. The upper classes pride themselves on their Spanish descent, while in the veins of the lower classes some negro blood runs. Havana, the capital and chief seaport, and the metropolis of the West Indies, had a population of some 350,000.

Economic Condition.—Cuba was in a flourishing condition. The chief occupations of her inhabitants were agriculture and mining. Sugar was the most important crop. In the fiscal year 1913-1914 the main exports were as follows: sugar, \$119,742,942; unmanufactured tobacco, \$19,007,213; manufactured tobacco, \$13,773,203; iron, gold, and copper ores, \$4,263,131; hides and skins, \$2,568,154; molasses, \$2,434,908; and fruits, \$2,823,672. Since the negotiation of the reciprocity treaty with the United States, an increasing amount of Cuba's commerce has been with that country. The coinage law of 1914 established the gold peso, of the same weight and fineness as the United States dollar, as the monetary unit. United States currency is also legal tender.

The Campaign of 1916.—In the campaign of 1916 Menocal was opposed by Alfredo Zayas, a Liberal who was supported by ex-President Gómez. So close was the election that both parties claimed the victory. Without waiting for a definitive decision upon the returns, the Liberals, led by Gómez, rose in rebellion. United States Secretary of State Lansing appealed to the Cubans, urging them to refrain from civil war and declaring that his government would not recognize a régime which might be established by violence. Marines of the United States were landed at Santiago de Cuba to aid in the preservation of order. After Gómez had been defeated and captured, President Menocal expressed his appreciation of the policy pursued by the United States. In May, 1917, Menocal entered upon his second term.

Cuba and the World War.—Shortly after the World War began, it became clear that Cuba sympathized with the Allies. When the Imperial German government declared the existence of a submarine zone around the British Isles, the Cuban government made a protest. After the United States had declared the existence of a state of war with Germany, President Menocal sent a message to Congress denouncing the German submarine campaign and declaring emphatically that Cuba could not remain indifferent "in the face of such stupendous violations of international law." On April 7, 1917, Congress unanimously adopted a resolution declaring that a state of war existed between Cuba and Germany. Congress authorized the President to use the land and naval forces to promote the War and to float a large loan. It levied onerous taxes to raise funds for extraordinary expenditures. In August, 1917, Menocal delivered to the United States four German steamers that had been interned in Cuban ports. During the following year a law was enacted providing for obligatory military service for all adult male citizens who were not expressly exempted. In May, 1918, a bill became a law which appropriated two million four hundred thousand pesos annually during the prosecution of the War to promote the welfare of its victims. A considerable portion of that appropriation was expended under the direction of the Red Cross organization of the United States. In October, 1918, the Cuban government made known its intention to send thousands of trained officers and soldiers to the battle fields of France.

Troubled Politics and Finance.—When the World War terminated the Cubans became absorbed in local problems and dissensions again arose. As many publicists were convinced of the need of reform in the election laws, a new electoral law was enacted which had been framed by the aid of Major-General Crowder of the United States army. That law aimed to check fraud by requiring each voter to bring with him to the polls an identification card and by stipulating that the ballots should be counted publicly upon election day. José Miguel Gómez—who had only been punished by a few months' imprisonment for leading a

rebellion—was the presidential candidate of the Liberals in the campaign of 1920. Their candidate for the vice-presidency was a former Conservative. In opposition to Gómez was his former vice-president, Alfredo Zayas, who had been nominated by the "National League" which was a coalition composed of Conservatives and members of the so-called "Popular" party. Throughout the campaign emphasis was placed upon personalities rather than upon political issues: the partisans of Gómez were dubbed *Miguelistas*, while the adherents of Zayas were designated *Zayistas*. The election took place in November amid intense excitement. Its results were never officially announced because returns were not received from many districts and because charges of fraud and intimidation were made by both parties. At this juncture the collapse of the sugar market—which had induced the government to declare a moratorium in January, 1920—precipitated a financial stringency. The United States accordingly sent General Crowder to Havana on a special mission on board the cruiser "Minnesota." In March, 1921, supplementary elections took place in some provinces; and Zayas was declared to be elected president. He was inaugurated on May 20, 1921. With the aid of Crowder and other advisers, he immediately began to frame remedial legislation.

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Origins of the Dominican Republic and Haiti.—The island of Española or Santo Domingo—as it came to be known—had a checkered history. In 1697 by the Treaty of Ryswick, France secured from Spain the western half of that island which became known as Haiti; and in 1795 by the Treaty of Bâsle she secured the eastern half from Spain. As many inhabitants of eastern Santo Domingo preferred to be under Spanish rule, a rebellion against the French began in 1808. With the aid of an English squadron, on July 9, 1809, revolutionists captured the city of Santo Domingo. Spain's title to the eastern half of the island was reasserted in 1814 by the Treaty of Paris. In 1821, incited by the example of their

brethren in South America, the Dominicans—as the inhabitants of eastern Santo Domingo were eventually designated—deported the Spanish governor, proclaimed their independence of Spain, and expressed their desire to become incorporated in Colombia. To them, however, Bolivar could not extend any aid. President Boyer of Haiti invaded the eastern half of the island; and, early in 1822, he captured Santo Domingo City. For twenty-two years Haitians dominated the island of Santo Domingo. They tried to transform it into a unified black republic.

Duarte and the Independence of the Dominican Republic.—In 1838 Juan Pablo Duarte, an aspiring young Dominican who had been educated in Europe, founded a secret society which aimed to promote his country's independence. On February 27, 1844, a group of dissatisfied Dominicans captured the chief gate of Santo Domingo City, and shortly afterwards the Haitian general surrendered to the revolutionists. Soon a provisional council was formed to administer Dominican affairs. A Convention drafted a Constitution for the young republic which was promulgated on November 6, 1844. A revolutionary leader named Pedro Santana was elected president. Scarcely had the Constitution been adopted when revolts broke out. For several years the republic was forced to defend herself against the attempts of Haiti to destroy her autonomy. In February and in December, 1854, and also in February, 1858, short-lived constitutions were promulgated for the Dominican Republic.

Spanish Domination.—Frequent insurrections against the government, and a conviction that the country needed the protection of a foreign power, incited President Santana in 1861 to make a treaty which transferred his nation to Spain. This treaty provided that the Dominican Republic should be considered as a Spanish province. On March 18, 1861, the incorporation of the republic with Spain was proclaimed in Santo Domingo City. Santana was appointed the provincial governor and captain general. In various quarters opposition to that metamorphosis soon became manifest. On August 16, 1863, a planter named Cabrera started a revolution which became known in Dominican history as "the War of the Restoration." After a destructive struggle the small Spanish

army was forced to take refuge in Santo Domingo City. On May 1, 1865, the Spanish Queen sanctioned a law of the Cortes which provided that the colony in Santo Domingo should be abandoned.

Stormy History of the Dominican Republic.—The history of the Dominican Republic from 1865 to the end of the nineteenth century was extremely turbulent. A Convention which assembled in 1865 proclaimed that the Constitution of 1858 should be the fundamental law. Scarcely had General Antonio Pimentel been elected president when an insurrection against his government began. As a result General Buenaventura Báez was proclaimed president. The Constitution of 1854—which had given the President large powers—was declared to be in force again. In 1868, after he became president for the second time, Báez negotiated a treaty with the United States which provided for the annexation of the Dominican Republic to that country. His fellow countrymen approved the treaty by a *plébiscite* in February, 1870; but the United States Senate declined to ratify it. After a series of kaleidoscopic changes in the presidency, in 1882 General Ulises Heureux, a negro politician, became chief magistrate of the republic. To prolong his rule he had the existing Constitution amended more than once. A Constitution which was promulgated in 1896 accorded to the President very extensive powers. Dictator in everything but name, Heureux was cruel and relentless to his political enemies. At last he was assassinated by Ramón Cáceres, who had entered into a conspiracy against him. Around two leaders of the opposition to Heureux's domination, Juan Isidro Jiménez and Horacio Vasquez, cliques or party groups had formed. Jiménez, who became president in November, 1899, gave peace to his country for a few years. He was overthrown by a revolution led by Vice-President Vasquez in 1902. A civil war then broke out which developed into a three-cornered fight. Eventually Carlos Morales was elected president and Ramón Cáceres vice-president. Morales was inaugurated on June 19, 1904.

Financial Embarrassments.—Heureux had saddled his country with a large debt. It was increased by foreign loans which following administrations were compelled to incur during years of dissension. President Morales thus found the

Dominican Republic in a condition of apparently hopeless bankruptcy. In September, 1904, her debt was estimated at a little over \$32,000,000. Over one-half of that debt was held by subjects of Belgium, England, France, and Germany, while a small part of it was held by United States citizens. At that date the annual revenue of the Dominican Republic was estimated at \$1,850,000. The annual expenditures—including payments on the indebtedness—amounted to \$3,900,000. In the latter part of 1904 rumors were rife that certain European nations would intervene in the Dominican Republic in order to collect debts which were due their citizens. Thus it seemed that intervention by armed force might lead to the occupation of Dominican territory for an indefinite period.

Proposed Treaty.—John Hay, secretary of state for the United States, accordingly instructed Minister Dawson in Santo Domingo City to sound the government of the Dominican Republic in respect to aid from Washington. In February, 1905, a protocol was signed which provided that the United States should adjust the debts of the Dominican Republic and administer her customhouses for the service of the debt—a fixed amount of the revenue being set apart to pay the current expenses of the Dominican government. A clause in the convention provided that the United States should furnish such further assistance as might be necessary to restore the credit, maintain the order, and promote the welfare of the Dominican Republic. Largely because of that clause, which was interpreted to signify the establishment of a protectorate over the embarrassed republic, the Senate of the United States refused to ratify the treaty.

Roosevelt's Modus Vivendi.—Yet President Roosevelt made an executive arrangement with the Dominican government which embodied essential features of the proposed treaty. On April 1, 1905, he put that *modus vivendi* into force in the bankrupt republic. An agent from the United States was placed in charge of her fiscal administration. The marked improvement which then took place in her economic, social, and political condition—altogether aside from the fact that her debt was readjusted and her credit restored—strengthened the sentiment in the United States in favor of a treaty arrangement.

Treaty of 1907 with the United States.—On February 8, 1907, a treaty was accordingly signed which arranged for assistance by the United States in the collection and use of the customs duties of the insolvent republic. The Treaty of 1907 provided that the government at Washington should for fifty years administer the customs of the Dominican Republic for the service of her debt. Many beneficial results followed the execution of this treaty. Fewer revolutions occurred. Customs receipts greatly increased. Import and export trade expanded. Administrative methods were improved. Many internal improvements were carried out. The Dominican debt was much decreased. On the other hand, however, the administration of the finances of the Dominican Republic by the United States almost inevitably led to interference with the government of that Latin-American republic—interference which infringed upon her sovereign authority.

Dominican Constitution of 1908.—Meantime a Convention that sat in Santiago de los Caballeros promulgated a new Constitution for the republic. The Dominican Constitution of 1908 declared that the electoral franchise should be granted to all male citizens who were over eighteen years of age. It vested executive authority in a President who should be elected, by indirect vote, for six years. In case of his death, absence, or disability Congress was to designate the individual who should serve as his substitute. Among the powers specifically granted to the President was that of commander in chief of the army. He was to be aided by a cabinet of seven secretaries. Legislative authority was granted to a bicameral Congress. The Senate should be made up of one member from each province who was to be elected by indirect vote, while the Chamber of Deputies should be composed of two members from each province elected in the same manner. Judicial authority was granted to a supreme court that should hold its sessions at Santo Domingo City. The republic was divided into twelve provinces which were to be administered by governors appointed by the President.

Intervention by the United States.—Ramón Cáceres, the first president under the new Constitution, was inaugurated on July 1, 1908. At a juncture when a new era seemed to be dawning for his people, unfortunately the chief magistrate

was assassinated by a political enemy. At the instance of a military commander, a weak man was elected president, and the country was soon torn by dissensions and civil war. A special commission sent by the United States government induced the Dominican Congress to accept the President's resignation and to elect Archbishop Noel as provisional president for two years. Monsignor Noel, however, became tired of his difficult post, and resigned the presidency in March, 1913. Congress then selected a compromise candidate as provisional president for one year. At the end of his term revolts began in various sections and a commission was again sent from the United States to pacify the republic. In October, 1914, a presidential election was held which resulted in the choice of Juan Jiménez as president for the second time.

Social and Economic Conditions.—The population of the Dominican Republic in 1914 was probably about 700,000. Many inhabitants are of Spanish descent. In some sections there is a large negro element. The chief occupations in the republic are agriculture and related industries. Her rich soil produces large crops; extensive areas are covered with valuable timber; and certain portions are well suited for cattle raising. A few factories, as of cigars, cigarettes, and chocolate, have been established. In 1914 the chief exports of the Dominican Republic were as follows: raw sugar, \$4,943,432; cacao, \$3,896,489; leaf tobacco, \$394,224; coffee, \$345,579; hides, \$164,064; wax, \$130,290; and fine woods, \$66,464. Since 1900 the monetary unit of Dominican currency has been the United States dollar: the Dominican peso is worth one-fifth of a dollar. Early in 1915 through the honest and efficient administration of her customs service by the United States government, the debt of the Dominican Republic had been reduced to \$21,500,000.

United States Marines Landed.—To suppress disturbances Dominican officials incurred fresh debts without the approval of the United States. That government then demanded that a convention supplementary to the Treaty of 1907 be arranged, providing for the appointment of a financial adviser to the Dominican Republic and for the control of her constabulary by the United States. To this the Dominicans refused to consent. In April, 1916, a young military officer

named Arias issued a proclamation in which he declared that Jiménez was deposed and that he had assumed the President's powers. As this was followed by disorder, the United States landed a detachment of marines upon Dominican soil who, after a short campaign in which some lives were lost, suppressed the insurrectionists. The Dominican Congress then elected Dr. Francisco Henríquez y Carvajal provisional president. The Dominican government again refused to sign a convention supplementary to the Treaty of 1907; in consequence the United States refused to recognize Henríquez y Carvajal. On November 29, 1916, Captain Knapp of the United States navy issued a proclamation announcing that the Dominican Republic was under the military administration of the United States. He declared that his government did not intend to destroy the sovereignty of the Dominican Republic but that it wished to enable her to restore internal order so that she might observe her international obligations. The administration of Dominican affairs was assigned by the United States to Admiral Snowden with the title of military governor of the Dominican Republic.

Progress under Military Government.—In April, 1917, the military governor canceled the *exequaturs* of German consular representatives in the Dominican Republic. Diplomatic relations between that republic and the German Empire were thus technically severed. During the military occupation by the United States tranquillity was restored to the republic, and important reforms were introduced. Regulations providing for compulsory education were enforced. Sanitary conditions were much improved. Finances were again restored to a sound basis.

Arrangements for the Restoration of Home Rule.—Yet the Dominicans were naturally dissatisfied with foreign military rule. In 1919 commissioners headed by Dr. Henríquez y Carvajal went to Paris to lay a plea for the restoration of individual liberty in the insular republic before the League of Nations. The Dominican commission then proceeded to Washington. In December, 1920, Admiral Snowden informed the Dominican people that his government wished to withdraw from the responsibilities which it had assumed in the affairs of their republic. In accordance with instructions from

Washington on June 14, 1921, the military governor issued a proclamation outlining the plan of his government for the conditional withdrawal of its military forces from Dominican soil and for the transfer of administrative responsibility to a native government. This plan provided that elections should be held in the island for Senators, Deputies, and national judges; that an agreement concerning the evacuation of the island should be negotiated between the Dominican government and the United States which should validate all acts of the military government and should stipulate the performance of certain duties by the Dominican Republic; and that her electoral colleges should then properly choose a president. When the "convention of evacuation" should have been confirmed by the Dominican Congress and President, if "peace and good order" prevailed, the military governor would then transfer to the Dominican President all of his powers, the military government would cease, and the United States would immediately withdraw her forces. Yet the fiscal relations established in 1907 between the United States and the Dominican Republic were to be enlarged so as to include the perfection of arrangements for a proposed loan. The republic was still to be kept in a condition of tutelage.

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS

Origins of Central America.—As has been indicated, the captaincy general of Guatemala or Central America acquired independence from Spain through its adherence to the plan of Iguala. When General Filisola, who commanded a military expedition that the Mexican Empire had sent to Central America, heard of the downfall of Agustín I he decided to summon delegates to an Assembly which might take steps to fulfill the desire of Central Americans to establish their political independence. Elections for an assembly were accordingly held, and on June 24, 1823, delegates from provinces of Central America gathered at Guatemala City. As the province of Chiapas had been incorporated in Mexico, it was not represented in the Assembly.

Independence and Federation.—On July 1, 1823, the National Constituent Assembly announced that the provinces

of the former captaincy general of Guatemala were free and independent states which were confederated into a nation entitled the United Provinces of Central America. It established a provisional government with three departments, declared in favor of the freedom of the press, and stipulated that Roman Catholicism should be the religion of the state. Early in August, 1823, General Filisola left Guatemala City. On August 20, at the instance of a Central American agent, the Mexican Congress acknowledged the independence of the United Provinces of Central America. In October following the National Constituent Assembly passed a decree instructing the Deputies from Central America, with the exception of those from Chiapas, to withdraw from the Mexican Congress. In April, 1824, it decreed that slavery should be abolished in Central America.

Constitution of 1824.—On November 22, 1824, the Assembly promulgated a brief Constitution for the Central American provinces which had evidently been patterned after the United States Constitution. By the Constitution of 1824 the provinces of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador associated themselves in a Federation. That Constitution conceded some executive authority to a bicameral legislature. It conferred the highest judicial authority upon a supreme court. Meantime the provinces had organized their governments.

President Arce.—Early in 1825 the Federation of Central America was launched. On April 21, 1825, Congress chose a Liberal named Manuel José Arce as president. Several nations of America and Europe recognized the new Federation. In March, 1825, diplomats of Central America had negotiated a treaty of union, league, and perpetual confederation with Colombia. A commercial treaty was subsequently signed between the Federation and the United States. Diplomatic relations were initiated between Central America and England.

Political Problems.—Parties soon appeared which differed with regard to the political organization of the state. The Moderate party was composed of persons who desired a centralized form of government. They took a favorable attitude toward the Church and were sometimes called by their opponents the "Serviles." The Radicals, who ordinarily

avored the existing régime, may be called Liberals: sometimes their opponents designated them "Anarchists." President Arce soon found himself hedged about with difficulties. As he tried not to displease the Servile party, he lost the support of his own partisans. Some Central Americans were dissatisfied because the seat of the Federation was located at Guatemala City, which was the capital of the province of Guatemala. The other provinces became jealous of that province because it was allotted the largest number of members in Congress. Dissensions also arose because of the establishment of a new bishopric in the province of Salvador without the sanction of the Pope.

Downfall of Arce.—In October, 1826, Arce convoked an extraordinary Congress. Some persons considered this an unconstitutional step. The President arrested Barrundia, the Liberal leader of Guatemala, upon the charge that he was planning a revolt. The murder by infuriated Indians of *Vice-Jefe Flores* of Guatemala, who had taken refuge in a church, was followed by civil war. In that war President Arce espoused the cause of the Serviles, who wished to abolish the bishopric of Salvador, while Francisco Morazán became the efficient leader of the Liberals. On April 12, 1829, Guatemala City fell into the hands of Morazán's soldiers.

Francisco Morazán and Politico-Religious Innovations.—Dictator Morazán was the most distinguished publicist of the Central American Federation. After capturing Guatemala City he took measures against his real or supposed enemies. His puppet, President Barrundia, fearing a Spanish invasion, sanctioned a law which provided that the property of Spaniards should be sequestered. Barrundia proscribed or exiled Servile leaders; he dictated the appointment of dignitaries of the Church. Because of a suspicion that certain ecclesiastics were plotting against the government, he ordered the arrest and expulsion of the archbishop of Guatemala and also of many members of the Franciscan, Dominican, and Recollet orders. Soon afterwards Congress announced that members of religious orders would neither be received nor recognized in the Federation. Their buildings were sequestered and used for various purposes by the government. After Morazán was elected president, in May, 1832, Congress an-

nounced that religious liberty should prevail throughout the Federation. Some years later it declared that marriage was merely a civil contract.

Disruption of the Federation.—The scene was thus set for a politico-religious war. An occasion for that conflict was afforded by a visitation of cholera. As priests intimated that this scourge was caused by the poisoning of wells by Liberals, in June, 1837, fanatical Indians in the district of Mita rose against the government.

Rafael Carrera.—At the head of a frenzied horde there soon appeared a youth of mixed blood named Rafael Carrera. An illiterate but dashing leader, with much influence among the Indians and *mestizos*, Carrera secured the support of embittered ecclesiastics. Attempts of Morazán to arrange a peace by negotiations failed, and at the head of a nondescript horde of bandits and soldiers Carrera entered Guatemala City on February 1, 1838. About five months later the last Congress of the Federation adjourned. Morazán continued to campaign against Carrera; but on March 19, 1839, he was defeated at Guatemala City, and shortly afterwards sailed for Peru. The Federation of Central America dissolved into the pre-existing provinces.

Attempts at Central American Union.—Rafael Carrera soon became dictator of Guatemala. In 1842 delegates from Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador framed articles at Chinandega which instituted a league designated the Central American Confederation. Those articles stated that other nations of Central America might join the league. The fourth article declared that the contracting states acknowledged the principle of non-intervention with regard to their internal affairs. Provision was made for an executive, an advisory council, and a supreme court. In March, 1844, this Confederation was organized at San Vicente, but the states that had signed the articles did not observe the compact. The chief executive of the Confederation was thus soon reduced to impotence. Certain leaders of Central America, however, were loath to relinquish the idea of union. In November, 1849, commissioners from Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador met at León: they agreed that those three states should coöperate in the management of their foreign relations; and that they would decide

upon a plan of Federation. They agreed that Guatemala and Costa Rica might join this Federation if they so desired. Although those states declined to join, yet the three contracting parties sent delegates to a Constituent Congress, which elected a supreme chief of the Federation and framed a fundamental law. The assemblies of Nicaragua and Salvador alleged, however, that this Congress had acted beyond its authority. A war which broke out in 1863 between Guatemala and Salvador precipitated the disruption of the new Federation.

The State of Costa Rica.—Costa Rica was somewhat isolated from the rest of Central America. In November, 1838, her Congress announced that she had left the Central American Federation. At that juncture Braulio Carrillo, an aspiring native of Cartago, was serving as chief of the state. Early in 1840 he selected Costa Rica's flag and coat of arms. About a year later Carrillo issued a decree containing governmental regulations which provided that he should hold office for life. Opponents of his dictatorial rule, however, invited Francisco Morazán to return from Peru. Morazán landed in Costa Rica in April, 1842, and issued a manifesto announcing that he intended to establish a government distinguished by order and progress. As many Costa Ricans joined his standard, he entered the capital city without opposition, and summoned a Constituent Assembly at San José, which on July 15, 1842, elected him provisional chief of Costa Rica. Reactionaries in that country who were encouraged by Serviles in Guatemala attacked the Liberals, however, Morazán was besieged at San José, defeated, captured, and shot on September 15, 1842.

Constitutions of 1844 and 1847.—In 1843 an Assembly framed a Constitution for the "State of Costa Rica," which was promulgated on April 11, 1844. The Constitution provided that executive authority should be exercised by a *jefe* and that legislative authority should be vested in a bicameral Congress. While José M. Castro was acting as chief executive, a Constituent Assembly formed another Constitution which was promulgated in March, 1847. This Constitution vested executive power in a President and a Vice-President, while legislative power was given to a unicameral Congress. It declared that Roman Catholicism was the state religion. On

August 30, 1848, Congress declared that Costa Rica was a sovereign and independent nation with the title of the "Republic of Costa Rica." About a month later Congress adopted a national flag.

Foreign Relations.—By a treaty which was signed at Madrid on May 10, 1850, Spain acknowledged the independence of Costa Rica. That republic entered into a Concordat with the Pope in regard to ecclesiastical affairs on October 7, 1852. She also negotiated treaties with the United States and with several Spanish-American nations.

Constitutional Changes.—Under Juan Rafael Mora, who became president in November, 1849, and who was again elected to that post in 1859, Costa Rica enjoyed peace and relative prosperity. His second administration was strongly opposed by the conservative classes, however, and on the night of August 14, 1859, he was driven from the national palace. A Constituent Assembly was soon convoked which adopted a Constitution stipulating that the only religion that should be tolerated was Roman Catholicism. At a later date, after President Castro had been deposed, a Constitutional Assembly framed another fundamental law providing that Roman Catholicism should be the state religion, but that other religions should be tolerated. The next President was deposed by a coup d'état in April, 1870; and in August, 1871, Dictator Guardia convoked a Constituent Assembly.

Costa Rica's Constitution of 1871.—On December 7, 1871, that Assembly adopted a new Constitution for Costa Rica. This Constitution provided that the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion should be supported by the state but that other religions which were not contrary to morality or good customs should be tolerated. It contained articles describing the rights and privileges of citizens of Costa Rica. Foreigners—who should not be subject to extraordinary taxes—were to enjoy all the civil rights of citizens. Executive authority was vested in a President and a cabinet. The President, who should be chosen by an electoral college for four years, was declared to be ineligible for immediate reelection. Three personages who were to be designated by Congress should replace the President in a certain order in case of his death, absence, or disability. At the head of each executive department should

be a secretary who might attend the meetings of Congress, and who might introduce bills but could not vote. Legislative authority was vested in one house which was styled the Constitutional Congress. Members of Congress were to be chosen from districts by indirect election. During the recess of Congress a commission of five members was to take charge of unfinished business; it might issue urgent decrees, and should frame bills for consideration by Congress. Judicial authority was vested in a supreme court and other courts. The local subdivisions of the republic were provinces, cantons, and districts. In charge of each province should be placed a governor appointed by the President, who was to act as the agent of the national government. With a few amendments, this centralistic Constitution has served as the fundamental law of Costa Rica from 1871 to the present day.

Traits of Costa Rica.—Because of the habitat of the Costa Ricans upon a small, central plateau, and because of the absence of a large aboriginal population, their political and economic life has been somewhat different from that of the other nations of Central America. The public lands of Costa Rica have largely passed into the hands of many small proprietors. There the tendency has been relatively strong toward the formation of a democratic and law-abiding citizenry. With a population of less than 500,000 in 1914 Costa Rica had a regular army of some 1000 men.

Economic Condition.—Like other states of Central America, Costa Rica is primarily an agricultural and mining country. In 1914 her chief exports were bananas, which in United States currency amounted to \$4,725,754; coffee, \$4,663,360; gold and silver, \$888,599; lumber, \$123,814; hides, \$110,780; cacao, \$84,507; and rubber, \$12,134. The internal debt of Costa Rica in 1914 amounted to \$2,692,215, and in the following year her external debt was over \$14,000,000. Before the outbreak of the World War, Costa Rica had adopted the gold standard. Her monetary unit was the gold colón, worth 46.5 cents in United States currency.

The Republic of Salvador.—Unlike Costa Rica, Salvador frequently became involved in difficulties with her neighbors. On January 30, 1841, the Assembly of Salvador passed a law providing that the new nation should be designated the

Republic of Salvador. Shortly afterwards a Constitution was promulgated which vested governmental authority in a President and a bicameral legislature. In a few years Provisional President Juan J. Guzmán was succeeded by a Conservative named Francisco Malespin, who was deposed and driven into Honduras. Doroteo Vasconcelos, a Liberal who became president in 1848, cherished the dream of organizing a republic that would include all the states of Central America. But an armed band of Salvadorans, Hondurans, and Nicaraguans whom he led into Guatemala against Carrera was defeated, and he was deposed by Congress.

Governmental Fluctuations.—Francisco Dueñas, who became president in 1852, adjusted Salvador's dispute with Guatemala. Difficulties that arose with Honduras were also settled. As the result of a war waged against him by Carrera, President Barrios, who became chief executive in 1860—was deposed and Dueñas again became president in 1864. Soon afterwards the Salvadorans adopted a conservative Constitution which recognized only the Roman Catholic religion. Spain acknowledged the independence of Salvador by a treaty which was signed at Madrid on June 24, 1865. A very conservative ruler, Dueñas was favored by the Clerical party; he was reëlected in December, 1868. When a quarrel broke out with Honduras because of alleged protection granted by Salvador to Honduran political refugees, Salvadoran Liberals sought to profit by that circumstance to secure the triumph of democratic principles. Dueñas was defeated by General Santiago González at Santa Anna on April 10, 1872, and soon afterwards Congress declared that he was deposed. Under a Constitution adopted in 1871 González was elected president. Five years later, while he was acting as vice-president, Salvador was accused of giving asylum to refugees from Guatemala. Guatemalan soldiers invaded Salvador and compelled the Salvadorans to sign a treaty by which they agreed to change the personnel of the government. Under the next president, Rafael Zaldívar, some economic progress was made, and a liberal Constitution was adopted. After President Barrios of Guatemala vainly attempted to reëstablish the Federation of Central America by force of arms, the time appeared ripe for the framing of a new fundamental law. Francisco Menendez,

who became provisional president of Salvador in May, 1885, accordingly invited his fellow-citizens to choose delegates to a Constitutional Assembly.

Salvador's Constitution of 1886.—An article in the Constitution of 1886 declared that Salvador's ability to join other states of Central America to form a union was unimpaired. In a list of rights and guaranties of citizens was a prohibition upon slavery. All civil and ecclesiastical corporations were prohibited from acquiring real estate except for the actual services of the respective corporation. Executive authority was vested in a President and a cabinet. Both President and Vice-President should be elected for four years by popular vote. The cabinet should be composed of four secretaries of state, who might attend the meetings of Congress but were to withdraw before a vote was taken. Legislative authority was vested in a unicameral Congress that was designated the National Assembly of Deputies. Its members were to be elected for one year by popular vote. The judiciary was to be composed of a supreme court and inferior courts. Judges of the supreme court were to be appointed by the National Assembly and should serve for two years. The territory of the republic was to be divided into departments, districts, and municipalities or cantons. At the head of each department should be placed a governor and a substitute to be appointed by the President. This Constitution is still the fundamental law of Salvador.

Social Condition.—Physiographically Salvador has a unique position. She is the smallest of the Central American republics and is the only republic of Central America that does not have a coast line on both oceans. Although Indian blood flows through the veins of a majority of her people, yet Spanish is the language generally used. Many of the lower classes are *mestizos*. With some 1,700,000 inhabitants Salvador is the most densely populated Central American republic. During recent years a well organized soldiery and local police have aided to keep that country in peace and order.

Economic Condition.—Her main industries are agriculture and mining. Coffee, which is raised on the slopes of the mountains and volcanoes, is the chief crop. In coastal sections of the republic are many sugar plantations and cattle ranches.

Gold and silver are mined in certain regions. Some articles are manufactured from native products. In 1914 the chief exports of Salvador were valued in United States currency as follows: coffee, \$8,770,360; gold and silver, \$1,371,951; hides, \$48,541; sugar, \$83,651; and Peruvian balsam, \$82,720. Of a foreign bonded debt of £1,000,000 floated in London in 1908, on January 1, 1916, there were £756,900 still owing. Just before the opening of the World War the monetary unit of Salvador was the silver peso with a nominal value of about forty cents in United States currency. Its value fluctuated according to the market value of silver.

Carrera in Guatemala.—For three decades after the defeat of Morazán, the history of Guatemala hinged around Carrera. Reactionary decrees took the place of liberal laws upon the statute books, while special privileges were restored to the clergy. In November, 1843, a new coat of arms was adopted for the republic. An abortive revolt against Carrera in 1849 was followed by a policy of proscription.

Constitution of 1851.—In October, 1851, an Assembly in Guatemala City adopted a fundamental law known as the Constituent Act of the Republic of Guatemala. This Constitution provided that the President, who was clothed with absolute authority, should be elected for four years by an Assembly. If the President were temporarily absent from the capital, the chief executive authority should be vested in a council of government. Churches and other corporations were by a decree granted representation in Congress. Under that Constitution the first president was Carrera, who, on October 21, 1854, was proclaimed chief magistrate for life; later he was exempted from all responsibility for the acts of his government. Spain acknowledged Guatemala's independence by a treaty which was signed at Madrid on May 29, 1863. Invested with almost monarchical power, Carrera ruled despotically over Guatemala until his death in 1865.

Barrios Becomes President.—His disappearance from the political stage was followed by an increase in the power and influence of the Liberals. Led by Justo R. Barrios, an energetic and idealistic Guatemalan, they defeated the Conservatives in battle and entered the capital city in June, 1871. President Barrios adopted an anti-clerical policy which resem-

bled that of Morazán. Tithes were abolished, monasteries were suppressed, ecclesiastical *fueros* were swept away, and freedom of religious worship was decreed. In December, 1879, an Assembly adopted a liberal Constitution for the republic.

Barrios and Central American Union.—Under this Constitution Barrios was chosen president of Guatemala. One of his cherished designs was a union of the Central American states. On February 28, 1885, President Barrios issued a decree which proclaimed the reestablishment of the Central American Union. Barrios arrogantly declared that he had assumed the rôle of supreme military chief with absolute authority, that a general assembly of representatives from each republic should meet at Guatemala City in May following to frame a constitution for the union, and that any one who dared to oppose the execution of this decree would be considered a traitor to Central America. He issued a manifesto to the Central American people asserting that he was not animated by personal ambition; for he had tasted of the bitterness of office-holding. But the Guatemalan champion of union was opposed by Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Salvador who appealed to Mexico and the United States to interfere on their behalf. On March 22, 1885, those republics entered into an offensive and defensive alliance against Guatemala. Barrios soon invaded Salvador, and on April 2, 1885, was killed in battle.

Guatemala's Constitution of 1887.—In 1887 the Guatemalan Constitution of 1879 was modified. Among the guaranties to citizens contained in the amended Constitution was an article providing that primary instruction should be compulsory. Freedom of religious worship was guaranteed. Citizens might have recourse to the writ of habeas corpus. Entail was prohibited and also the retention of property in dead hands, except by charitable institutions. The President should be elected, by direct popular vote, for six years: he might not be reelected until six years had elapsed. In case of death or disability his place should be taken by substitutes in the order designated by Congress. Members of the cabinet might attend the sessions of the legislature and take part in its deliberations. A council of state made up of cabinet members and other persons selected by the President and the legislature was to act as

his advisory body. Legislative authority should be vested in a unicameral legislature called the National Assembly, which was to be composed of members elected by direct popular vote for four years. The Constitution also provided for a permanent committee of Congress that resembled the committee established by the Costa Rican Constitution of 1871. Judicial authority was vested in a supreme court which should be composed of five members chosen by direct popular vote. This Constitution stipulated that federal judges must belong to the legal profession and might not be ecclesiastics. The basis of local administration should be departments that were to be managed by political chiefs appointed by the President. In 1903—while Manuel Estrada Cabrera was chief magistrate—the Constitution was amended so as to allow the immediate reëlection of the President. Under the Constitution of 1887 Cabrera acted as the Dictator of Guatemala for more than a score of years.

Social Condition.—Social conditions in Guatemala are in some respects unlike those in Costa Rica. In Guatemala there are thousands of aborigines. Many Indians are held to labor on plantations under a system of peonage, while others hold small plots of land or till a portion of the common land of their respective villages. The plantation system of Guatemala rests upon Indian laborers whom the dominant classes keep in economic dependence. To a large extent the aborigines of Guatemala have remained distinct from the white inhabitants. Pure-blooded Indians far outnumber the whites and the half-breeds or *ladinos*. In 1914 the population of Guatemala probably exceeded 2,000,000 souls.

Economic Condition.—The chief industry in Guatemala is agriculture. Many coffee plantations are located on the slopes of volcanoes near the Pacific coast. Coffee, which is the main crop of Guatemala, has gained an enviable reputation in the world's market. On the southern coastal plain are sugarcane plantations and cattle ranches. Upon the plateau above the coffee plantations sheep are raised. In recent years many banana plantations have been started near the Gulf of Honduras. A few factories have been established where native cotton is made into cloth. In 1914 the chief exports of Guatemala in United States currency were as follows: coffee,

\$10,391,765; bananas, \$1,017,141; sugar, \$354,382; hides, \$341,101; lumber, \$301,571; and chicle, \$227,742.

Finances.—Ever since the disruption of the Central American Federation, Guatemala has had difficulties with her creditors. She has at times suspended the payment of the interest on her loans. On December 31, 1915, the principal of her foreign debt was somewhat less than \$12,000,000 in United States currency. In 1914 the theoretical monetary unit in Guatemala was the fluctuating silver peso; while the currency in use was mostly the paper peso of fluctuating value and inconvertible. Upon the eve of the Great War the paper peso was worth about five cents in United States currency.

The State of Honduras.—The history of Honduras was hardly less stormy and possibly more complicated than that of Guatemala. On October 26, 1838, a Constituent Assembly at Comayagua proclaimed that the State of Honduras was free, sovereign, and independent. A Constitution adopted in 1848 provided for freedom of conscience and religion. Shortly afterwards President Lindo became involved in a controversy with England about the boundary of the colony of Belize which was eventually terminated by a treaty that conceded the English claims. General Santos Guardiola, a *zambo* who was under the influence of Carrera, served as president from 1856 to 1862, when he was assassinated. A Constitution adopted by Honduras in 1865 provided that Roman Catholicism should be the state religion to the exclusion of all other faiths. Under José María Medina, who became president in the same year, a war broke out with Salvador which resulted in the occupation of Comayagua by Salvadoran soldiers. Later the presidents of Guatemala and Salvador intervened in the politics of Honduras in order to replace President Arias by a chief executive selected by themselves. In 1885 Honduras promised her coöperation in the project of Barrios to establish a Central American republic but after his death she made peace with Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Not until November 17, 1894, did Spain sign a treaty acknowledging Honduran independence.

The Greater Republic of Central America.—At Amalpa, on June 20, 1895, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador agreed to establish a common political organization for the control of

their external relations. This organization was to be known as the Greater Republic of Central America. In December, 1896, the President of the United States recognized the Federation by the reception of her minister at Washington. On August 27, 1898, at Managua the three Central American nations signed a Constitution for the United States of Central America, which provided for the admission of Costa Rica and Guatemala into the Federation. In pursuance of its stipulations, a provisional executive council for the union was installed at Amalpa on November 1, 1898, but a movement directed against the Federation occurred in Salvador, and in a short time the confederates resumed their independent sovereignty.

The Honduran Constitution of 1904.—In 1904, at the instance of President Bonilla, a Constituent Assembly was convoked in Honduras. On September 2, 1904, that Assembly promulgated a Constitution for the state. Its first article declared that Honduras recognized as her principal duty the reconstruction of the Central American Union. Another article stated that Honduras should be a sacred asylum for any persons who might seek refuge within her jurisdiction. Foreigners should enjoy in her territory all the civil rights of Honduran citizens. Executive authority was granted to a President, who was to be elected, by direct popular vote, for six years but who should be ineligible for the succeeding term. Members of the President's cabinet might attend Congress and take part in its debates but they should have no vote. Legislative authority was vested in a unicameral Congress composed of deputies elected by direct popular vote for four years. Judicial authority was granted to a supreme court of five judges selected by Congress. Minor courts and justices of the peace were also to exercise judicial authority. Honduran territory was to be divided into departments. The government of municipalities should be vested in corporations made up of members elected directly by the people.

Social Condition.—In the main the people of Honduras are of mixed descent. Indian or negro blood courses the veins of many Hondurans, while a pure Caucasian is not frequently encountered. In 1914 the population of Honduras was estimated to be 562,000. Aboriginal dialects have become prac-

tically extinct: Spanish is the official language of Honduras, and also the language of her people.

Economic Condition.—The chief occupations of the Hondurans were agriculture, cattle raising, and mining. The most important agricultural products were bananas, cocoanuts, and coffee. Cattle and hogs were raised in large numbers, especially near the northern coast. Among Honduran mines the most important was a gold and silver mine in the San Juan-cito district near Tegucigalpa. In 1913 the main exports of Honduras were as follows in United States currency: bananas, \$1,714,398; precious metals, \$886,591; live cattle, \$251,361; cocoanuts, \$219,968; and hides, \$159,820.

Finances.—The finances of Honduras are badly embarrassed. From 1867 to 1870 large loans were contracted in London and Paris ostensibly to be used in the construction of a railroad. Only a small part of the money was so employed and subsequently the republic suspended the payment of interest upon the loans. Plans formed by British and United States diplomats for the adjustment of Honduran finances failed. On January 1, 1916, Honduras owed to foreigners £25,407,858; besides she had an internal debt which on July 1, 1914, amounted to 4,611,464 in silver pesos of fluctuating value. At par the Honduran peso is worth 40 cents in United States currency.

Nicaragua's Early Problems.—On April 30, 1838, a Constituent Assembly at Managua declared that Nicaragua was independent. In the following November a Constitution was promulgated for that republic. Her boundary problems proved very troublesome. They involved her in a dispute with England who, as the protector of the Mosquitoan Indians, urged a claim to territory within the region designated Nicaragua. In 1850 the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty between England and the United States stipulated that neither party could occupy, fortify, colonize, or exercise dominion over any portion of Central American territory. By a treaty which was later signed at Managua, England ceded to Nicaragua her protectorate over the Mosquitoan Indians. On July 25, 1850, a treaty was signed at Madrid by which Spain acknowledged Nicaragua's independence. In April, 1854, a Constituent

Assembly adopted a new Constitution for the Nicaraguan republic which vested governmental authority in a President and a unicameral Congress. Fruto Chamorro was made provisional president.

Walker the Filibuster.—Among the Liberals who opposed the government of Provisional President Chamorro was Francisco Castellon who, through a mutual acquaintance, sent an invitation to a daring adventurer named William Walker to bring colonists from the United States to Nicaragua. In May, 1855, Walker sailed from San Francisco for Central America. His original plan was apparently to aid Nicaraguan Liberals in their struggle against the Serviles. After being defeated by the Serviles, he captured Granada by a night attack. He declined the presidency of Nicaragua which was offered him but accepted the post of commander in chief of her army. Soon afterwards, however, the filibuster had a bitter quarrel with financiers in the United States upon whom he depended for recruits. Further, his enemies aroused other states of Central America: soldiers from Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador joined the Serviles of Nicaragua against him. Walker was ultimately forced to desist from his ambitious design of establishing a state that should include Central America, Mexico, and possibly Cuba. Instead of founding a tropical Empire where negro slavery would be a recognized institution, he was captured by the Hondurans, court-martialed, and executed.

Parties in Nicaragua.—Politics in Nicaragua ran a tortuous course. Progressives, who moved slowly to avoid antagonizing other parties, were occasionally called the Liberals, while at other times they were designated Liberal-Conservatives. About 1870 certain persons who styled themselves Democrats had become attached to the clergy and were known as Moderates. A number of young politicians, who were anxious to introduce reforms, were styled Radicals. In 1881 difficulties arose because some Jesuits were suspected of having instigated the Indians to revolt. The Jesuits became incensed because of a liberal speech made by a Spanish professor at the opening of a national educational institute at León: they incited an

uprising against the government that encouraged such doctrines, and finally had to be expelled from Nicaraguan soil. When Barrios of Guatemala tried to re-weld the Central American states into a union, Nicaragua joined Salvador and Costa Rica to shatter his plans.

Zelaya Becomes President.—General José Santos Zelaya, a member of the Liberal party, emerged as the leader of a successful insurrection in 1893. Soon afterwards he was elected president for four years under a new Constitution. In 1895 he became involved in a dispute with England because he arrested and expelled certain English citizens who were suspected of conspiring against his government. Despite this entanglement—which led to the dispatch of an English warship to Central America, but was finally settled by the payment of an indemnity—and despite uprisings against his government, Zelaya maintained his power and was reelected president in 1902 and again in 1906. A man of initiative and energy, he secured the completion of a railroad from the Atlantic Ocean to Lake Nicaragua; he also promoted the construction of wharves and electric lighting plants. He took steps to improve his country's monetary system; but his concessions to monopolistic companies provoked much dissatisfaction. He did not succeed in satisfactorily adjusting Nicaragua's debts. Arbitrary in his methods of rule, yet he was viewed by his partisans as a great leader who might ensure tranquillity to the discordant and belligerent republics of Central America.

Nicaragua's War with Honduras.—In 1905 the Nicaraguans adopted a Constitution which provided for a President, a unicameral legislature, and federal courts. That Constitution made the department the local unit of organization. Among the internal and external wars which were subsequently waged by the Nicaraguan government, none was more significant than the struggle which broke out in 1907 between Nicaragua and Honduras. That war was terminated largely because of good offices exerted by the United States and Mexico. Upon its close the belligerents signed a convention stipulating that until a general arbitration treaty was adopted by the nations of Central America, any differences which might arise be-

tween Nicaragua and Honduras should be settled by the arbitration of the presidents of Mexico and the United States.

Attitude of Presidents Díaz and Roosevelt.—Soon afterwards, as war seemed imminent between Nicaragua and Salvador, Presidents Díaz and Roosevelt proposed that a peace conference should be held by the nations of Central America. In September, 1907, a preliminary Conference of the ministers of the Central American states and representatives of Mexico and the United States was accordingly held at Washington. At that meeting the five republics of Central America agreed to send delegates to a Conference to discuss the measures necessary to adjust any differences which might exist between those republics and to frame a treaty that should define their general relations.

The Central American Conference of 1907.—Accordingly Presidents Díaz and Roosevelt soon invited the republics of Central America to send representatives to a Conference. In November and December, 1907, delegates from those republics and also diplomats of Mexico and the United States gathered at Washington. The Central American Conference agreed to conventions concerning peace and amity, extradition, and future conferences. Other conventions established a Central American court of justice, a pedagogical institute, and a Central American bureau. The last-mentioned convention provided that the republics concerned should found and support a bureau composed of one delegate from each state. This bureau should promote the interests of Central America, maintain an organ of publicity, and serve as a medium of intelligence. The Treaty of Peace and Amity declared that a first duty of the contracting parties was to preserve peace. They pledged themselves to adjust in a Central American court of justice any differences that might arise among themselves. A citizen of one nation residing in another state of Central America was to have the same civil rights as citizens of that state. Legal documents of one state should be valid in the other states. The territory of Honduras should be absolutely neutral. Revolutionary leaders

should not be allowed to reside in districts adjacent to a country where they might disturb the peace. A supplementary convention contained provisions intended to prevent the reelection of presidents and to curb revolutions. The convention concerning a Central American court of justice provided for the establishment of a permanent tribunal at Cartago in Costa Rica, composed of one judge from each state, which was to take cognizance of certain controversies. The five nations agreed to enforce the decisions of that court. Certain members of the Conference suggested that the republics should again form one political organization but most of the delegates held that a Central American union was impracticable at this juncture.

Significance.—The Peace Conference of 1907 seemed to prescribe efficacious remedies for chronic Central American maladies. On May 25, 1908, the court of justice was installed at Cartago. Its decisions were not without influence in checking the interference of one or more states in the affairs of a neighbor. Still, revolutions in Central America did not cease.

Nicaragua and the United States.—The storm center of Central American politics was Nicaragua. Suspicions were rife that President Zelaya designed to impose his authority upon neighboring states. In February, 1909, Zelaya evidently encouraged a filibustering expedition against Salvador. To promote the execution of the Washington conventions the United States sent warships to Central American waters. At Bluefields in October, 1909, General Juan J. Estrada started an insurrection against the government of Nicaragua. Early in December, 1909, United States Secretary of State Knox gave the Nicaraguan minister his passports, declaring that, in violation of the treaties of 1907, President Zelaya had kept Central America in turmoil and that his administration was "a blot on the history" of Nicaragua. In the face of armed strife within and international complications without the republic, Zelaya decided to relinquish his authority. Upon accepting his resignation the National Assembly protested at the policy of intervention which had been pursued by the United States.

Fiscal Intervention.—Yet after Zelaya went into exile, Nicaragua asked the United States for advice about her po-

litical and fiscal reorganization. On November 6, 1910, an agreement was reached between the United States and Nicaragua which provided for a convention that should elect Provisional President Estrada as president. This agreement also stipulated that a loan should be secured for Nicaragua upon the basis of her customs duties. Any claims which might be pending against that state should be adjusted according to a plan formed by the United States and Nicaragua. Early in the next year Secretary Knox signed a treaty with Nicaragua which provided for the refunding of the Nicaraguan national debt and for a loan to Nicaragua that should be guaranteed by her customs receipts. This treaty further provided that the collector-general of Nicaragua's customs should be approved by the President of the United States. Although it was not ratified by the United States Senate, yet according to an executive agreement, President Taft selected a collector who was given charge of the Nicaraguan customs service.

Nicaragua's Constitution of 1912.—In March, 1912, a new Nicaraguan Constitution was put into operation. That Constitution vested executive authority in a President who should be elected by direct popular vote for four years. He was declared to be ineligible to succeed himself, and was to be aided and advised by secretaries of state. In contrast with sister republics of Central America, Nicaragua was by this Constitution furnished with a bicameral congress. Members of both the Senate and the House of Deputies were to be chosen by direct popular vote. One deputy was to be elected from every district into which a department might be divided. Each department of the republic should elect one senator for every two deputies. The national judiciary was to be composed of a supreme court, located at Managua, and three inferior courts, besides local courts. The electoral franchise should be exercised by all male citizens who had attained twenty-one years of age and also by married male citizens who were over eighteen years or who could read and write.

Social Condition.—The largest in territory of the Central American republics, in many particulars Nicaragua resembles Salvador and Honduras. To a considerable extent the aborigines have become amalgamated with the Spanish

element of the population. The most numerous class is probably the *mestizo*. In 1914 the population of Nicaragua was estimated at 703,540 souls. There the language and religion of the Spaniards have been imposed upon a stock which has often preserved aboriginal agricultural customs. The chief cities of Nicaragua are located on the plains near Lakes Nicaragua and Managua.

Economic Condition.—The main Nicaraguan industries are agriculture and cattle raising. Coffee, bananas, sugar, and cacao are the important crops. A large number of cattle roam over the grassy plains of the republic. Although many gold mines have been located in Nicaragua, yet mining has not become an important occupation. In 1914 the chief exports of Nicaragua in United States currency were as follows: coffee, \$2,295,397; gold, \$891,025; bananas, \$504,191; lumber, \$456,239; hides and skins, \$401,063; and rubber, \$124,326, in United States currency. The unit of monetary value in Nicaragua is the gold córdoba, which is of the same weight and fineness as the United States dollar.

Finances.—Nicaragua has also had difficulties and embarrassments in regard to her loans. So serious did Nicaragua's fiscal problems become that United States bankers undertook to aid the republic in the reorganization of her banking and monetary system. In October, 1910, an agreement was reached between the United States and Nicaragua which provided that the Central American republic should take steps to reorganize her finances by negotiating a loan secured by her customs duties. Subsequently Nicaragua entered into an agreement by which the United States government should choose a collector who was to supervise her fiscal administration. In 1914 the domestic debt of Nicaragua aggregated \$6,676,662; while her foreign debt amounted to \$7,100,000.

The Bryan-Chamorro Treaty.—In 1916 an important treaty that had been negotiated between Secretary Chamorro of Nicaragua and Secretary of State Bryan was ratified. By that treaty the United States government agreed to pay Nicaragua \$3,000,000; and it was to supervise the expenditure of that money. In return the United States was granted the exclusive right to construct and maintain an interoceanic canal across Nicaragua, and she was given a lease of Great

and Little Corn Islands near the eastern terminus of the Panama Canal. As Costa Rica and Salvador made objections to this treaty with Nicaragua when it was ratified by the United States Senate that body declared that none of its provisions were intended to affect any existing right of any other nation of Central America.

Central American Policy toward the World War.—The nations of Central America showed a singular unanimity in their attitude toward the World War. In 1917 some of those nations announced that their diplomatic relations with Germany were severed. By August, 1918, Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua had declared the existence of a state of war with the Imperial German Government. Although Salvador remained neutral yet she apparently declared that she was friendly to the government at Washington.

The Fiscal Rehabilitation of Nicaragua.—Meantime the finances of Nicaragua had become badly demoralized. Her government was harassed by "floating debts and miscellaneous claims." Exacting demands made by the holders of such obligations often prevented the government from paying the salaries of its employees. By the aid of the United States a plan for the rehabilitation of Nicaragua's finances was formed. This plan provided for the introduction of a budgetary system, for an adjustment of the floating debt, and for the financing of the deferred interest and sinking fund obligations of the bonded indebtedness. A high commission was to be established composed of representatives of Nicaragua and the United States. This commission was to serve as an agency to ensure the payment of bonds that were guaranteed by import duties. Aided by payments from the canal fund paid by the United States, the execution of this plan resulted in the reduction of Nicaragua's debt by January, 1920, to \$9,884,023. So much did the credit of the government improve that it sent a mission to the United States to negotiate a loan. In October, 1920, the negotiations culminated in a contract between the Nicaraguan government, upon the one hand, and Messrs. Brown Brothers and Company and J. and W. Seligman and Company of New York City, upon the other hand, for a loan of \$9,000,000 to be used largely in the construction and equipment of a railroad from the

Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic coast. Nicaragua's fiscal programme was modified. After budgetary expenses and payments on the bonded debt had been met, the republic was to be allowed to use the surplus to purchase the Pacific Railroad of Nicaragua and to promote internal improvements.

Downfall of Cabrera in Guatemala.—In the meantime the opposition to Cabrera's dictatorship in Guatemala had become increasingly bitter. Newspapers and foreign correspondence were subjected to a rigorous censorship. In April, 1920, a rebellion began. After the revolutionists had proclaimed a prominent sugar planter named Carlos Herrera as president of the republic, they succeeded in entering Guatemala City. There they were besieged and shelled by Cabrera's soldiers for several days. When it became evident that he was doomed to defeat, Cabrera capitulated and resigned the presidency. Soon afterwards Provisional President Herrera was recognized by the United States as the constitutional successor of Cabrera. At once Herrera undertook to initiate economic and fiscal reforms. He issued a proclamation arranging for presidential elections and announcing that he would not be a candidate for the presidency himself. Among plans for constitutional reform was a proposal that the fundamental law should be amended so as to prevent the successive reëlection of the President.

The Central American Federation of 1921.—Some of Cabrera's opponents had expressed themselves in favor of a union of the Central-American nations. Prominent publicists entertained high hopes that those nations might attain their political salvation in a Federation. Arrangements were accordingly made for a conference of delegates from the five nations of Central America. At San José, Costa Rica, on January 19, 1921, delegates of Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, and Costa Rica signed a "Treaty of Union." This compact provided that, after its ratification by three of the Central American states, those republics would unite in "a perpetual and indissoluble union" to constitute a nation designated the "Federation of Central America." It formulated a Provisional Constitution for the Federation. According to that Constitution each state was to preserve her control of internal affairs and was to exercise such powers as were not granted

to the federal government. The constitutions of the states of Central America were to remain in force so far as they were not contrary to the federal Constitution. For the time being, each state was faithfully to observe her treaties with other nations. After the Swiss example, executive authority was to be vested in a federal council. To that council each state was to elect by popular vote a councilor and an alternate for a term of five years. From their own number the councilors were to select a President and a Vice-President who should serve for one year. Legislative authority was to be exercised by a legislature composed of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The Senate was to be made up of three Senators for each state elected by the respective Congress for six years. The Chamber of Deputies was to be composed of members elected by popular vote from electoral districts. Judicial authority was to be vested in a supreme court and inferior courts established by law. After three states had ratified the Covenant of Federation a provisional federal council was to be elected composed of one delegate from each state. That council was to take steps preliminary to the organization of the Federation. It was to convoke a National Constituent Assembly composed of fifteen delegates from each state which should frame a permanent constitution for the Federation according to the bases laid down in the Treaty of Union. It was to promulgate the constitution, the laws, and other regulations that the Assembly might adopt. The Constituent Assembly was to delimit a district that should be the seat of the federal government. The states entering into the union were to continue payments on their domestic and foreign debts; but in the future no member of the Federation should float a foreign loan without the sanction of the federal Congress.

Its Organization.—In this compact of union the four Central American states expressed regret that Nicaragua had not agreed to enter the Federation. For the delegates of that republic had declined to sign the Treaty of San José. The Nicaraguan government evidently feared that to accept the compact of Central American Union might jeopardize its rights under the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty. The Congress of Costa Rica rejected the Covenant of Federation by a close vote. It was ratified, however, by the congresses of Hon-

duras, Guatemala, and Salvador. Members of the provisional federal council were elected, and the National Constituent Assembly was convoked at Tegucigalpa, Honduras, to pass laws and to frame a constitution. On August 30, 1921, that Assembly enacted a law which declared that although Costa Rica and Nicaragua had not entered the Federation, yet it considered them as members of the Central American family. This law stipulated that the coat of arms and the national flag of the new Federation should be identical with those that had been adopted by the Federation of Central America in September, 1823. On September 15, 1921—the centenary of the Declaration of Central American Independence—the ensign was to be unfurled which symbolized the re-birth of the “Republic of Central America.” After that date the flags and the coats of arms that had been used by the states which had entered the Federation of 1921 should no longer be displayed. Another step was accordingly taken toward the restoration of the union that had been born almost a century earlier.

The New Union.—The new Republic of Central America had an area of about one hundred thousand square miles with a population of four million souls. The states thus banded together were those which had been brought into relatively close relations with each other. Nicaragua and Costa Rica have occasionally felt that their interests were somewhat distinct from those of the other Central American states. A coup d'état in Guatemala City in December, 1921, which resulted in the deposition of President Herrera by General Orellana, seems to have spelled the downfall of the latest experiment in Central American Union.

The Independence of Panama.—The Constitution which was adopted by Colombia in 1886 declared that Panama was a department of the republic. As already suggested, a revolution started in the city of Panama against Colombia on November 3, 1903. Upon the following day the council of that city framed a declaration that the people under its jurisdiction had severed the political bonds which had connected them with Colombia. This council further declared that in union with other towns in the state of Panama it had formed an independent government.

Panama's Constitution.—A Convention was soon convoked in the city of Panama to organize the new nation. On February 13, 1904, it adopted a Constitution for the republic of Panama. The territory of the republic was declared to be that which had been included within the state of Panama by a Colombian law, subject to the arbitral award of the French President in the pending boundary dispute of Colombia with Costa Rica. An article in the bill of rights provided that citizens of Panama and foreigners should be equal before the law. Another article stated that corporations should be given legal recognition as persons. Article XXVI of the Constitution recognized Roman Catholicism as the religion of the majority of the republic's inhabitants but stipulated that religious worship should be free. Executive authority was vested in a President who should serve for four years. Members of his cabinet were to act as an advisory council. Congress should select three persons who, in a designated order, were to perform the duties of the President during his temporary or permanent absence. Legislative authority was vested in a unicameral Congress called the National Assembly which should be composed of members elected from districts for four years. Judicial power was given to a supreme court and other courts to be established by law. The territory of the republic was divided into four provinces. In each province the chief executive should be a governor who was to be appointed and removed by the President. Provision was also made for municipal districts that should be managed by councils. Article CXXXVI provided that if the United States government should by treaty assume the obligation of guaranteeing the independence and sovereignty of Panama, it should have the power to intervene in any part of the republic "to reestablish public peace and constitutional order."

The Canal Treaty.—Meantime, on November 18, 1903, a treaty had been signed by Secretary Hay and Bunau-Varilla, Panama's agent. By the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty the United States guaranteed the independence of the new republic. Panama granted to the United States a strip of land ten miles wide across the Isthmus for the construction of the canal and also the right of sovereignty over that zone and its adjacent waters. In return for the privileges and rights thus



MAP OF THE PANAMA REPUBLIC, SHOWING THE CANAL ZONE

granted the United States agreed to pay Panama \$10,000,000 and during the life of the treaty an annual sum of \$250,000 to begin nine years after its ratifications were exchanged. Other nations of Europe and America soon followed the example of the United States and recognized Panama. Upon the other hand Colombia—profoundly dissatisfied with the Panama affair—refrained from acknowledging that republic's independence.

Establishment of an Independent Government.—Although the Panamaian Constitution contained a clause providing that the President should be a natural-born citizen of the republic, yet in recognition of his services to the cause of independence the Convention unanimously elected a native of Cartagena named Manuel Amador Guerrero as president. The Convention was then transformed into a legislative body. It enacted a law stipulating that the legal codes of Colombia should remain in force whenever they were not repugnant to the Constitution and laws of Panama. It established the gold standard and adopted a national flag. Upon the coat of arms which it sanctioned for the republic there figured a sword and a musket, a pickax and a shovel, a horn of plenty and a rosette with wings, that were surmounted by the scroll *pro mundi beneficio*, pendant from the beak of an eagle.

Amador Guerrero as President.—Of the ten million dollars paid by the United States for the Canal Zone, six millions were invested in that country, while the remainder was used to finance certain public utilities in Panama. A controversy soon arose with Colombia, for there was no agreement about the boundary line. Dissensions that raged in 1908 because of the approaching election in which two Conservatives were opposing presidential candidates seemed to presage a rebellion. The United States accordingly dispatched warships to the city of Panama and landed marines at Colón. She informed the government of Panama that if fraud were permitted in the elections, it would become her duty to preserve order in accordance with the Panamaian Constitution and the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty. After a commission composed of citizens of Panama and officials of the Canal Zone had declared that charges of irregularity had been

grossly exaggerated, one of the candidates for the presidency withdrew his name, stating that he wished to promote the unity of parties and to prevent the occupation of the republic by United States soldiers.

Panama's Problems, 1908-1914.—In the presidential election of July, 1908, Domingo de Obaldia, who had acted as chief executive, was chosen president. Obaldia was inaugurated on October 1, 1908; he died in March, 1910, and was succeeded by the *Segundo Designado*, Carlos A. Mendoza. In September of that year the National Assembly elected as the *Primero Designado*, Pedro Arosemena, who was to serve as president for the remainder of Obaldia's term. In the campaign of 1912 the Liberal candidate Dr. Belisario Porras, who had been minister to the United States, was elected president. He was inaugurated on October 1. During 1913 a law was enacted that aimed to conserve the natural resources of the republic. Difficulties arose with Chinese residing within the republic because of a law which required them to register and to pay a fee. The government withdrew the *exequatur* of the Chinese consul-general at Panama City who was reported to have advised his fellow countrymen to refuse obedience to the obnoxious registration law. Partly as a result of the protests of Chinese residents the National Assembly ultimately enacted a law that authorized the President to expel objectionable foreigners from the republic.

Social and Economic Conditions.—In 1912 the population of the republic of Panama was estimated to be about 341,000. Negroes composed a not inconsiderable element. In certain portions of the republic were remnants of aboriginal stocks that had scarcely been affected by civilization. There were many mulattoes and *mestizos*, especially in the city of Panama. Some attention was paid to mining but agriculture and cattle raising were the chief industries. In Colón and Panama many inhabitants were employed in mercantile pursuits. Besides bananas, the important exports of the republic were rubber, cocoanuts, manganese, ivory nuts, hides, cabinet woods, and pearls. In 1914 the exports of timber came to \$135,296; exports of live stock and animal products aggregated \$241,867; and exports of vegetable products amounted to \$3,151,787 in United States currency.

Commerce and Currency.—The republic of Panamá occupies a unique commercial position: her exports seem destined regularly to be exceeded by her imports. Her nominal monetary unit is the balboa, a gold coin which is the equivalent of a dollar in United States currency. Silver coins of Panama circulate by the side of United States currency which is probably used more as a medium of exchange in Panama than in any other continental country of Latin America. The city of Panama is not only a cosmopolitan capital but also a mercantile center. The chief port of entry is Colón. Low import duties, as well as an increasing traffic through the canal, seem destined to make those cities important commercial emporiums. Even before the World War the commerce of the Isthmian Republic was mainly with the United States.

Panama during the World War.—While the new republic had been learning the art of government, the United States had been digging the great ditch to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. In August, 1914, the canal across the Isthmus of Panama was opened to traffic. The completion of the Panama Canal and the imperative need of protecting it—especially in war times—caused the United States government to take measures which augmented its influence in the Isthmian republic. In September, 1914, Panama ratified a treaty with the United States which described the boundaries between Panama and the Canal Zone. This treaty conceded to the United States control over the waters of Ancón and Colón at the Atlantic terminus of the canal, it transferred to that nation two small islands in Ancón harbor, and gave to her the site for a coastal battery upon the water front at Ancón. Important among amendments to the national Constitution which were promulgated in April, 1917, was an article providing that the President and a Vice-President should be elected for four years by direct popular vote. After 1919 the governors of provinces were to be elected by popular vote. Capital punishment was prohibited. On April 7, 1917, the Panama Assembly declared war upon Germany. Upon the same day Ramón M. Valdez—who had become President on October 1, 1916—issued a proclamation declaring that the very existence of his republic was linked to that

of the United States and appealing to his people to coöperate in the protection of the Panama Canal and of their own territory. During 1917 soldiers from the United States were landed in Colón and Panama City to quell election disturbances. During the next year the United States felt compelled to assume police power in the Isthmian Republic.

Her Boundary Disputes.—That republic inherited a troublesome boundary dispute. As already indicated, Colombia's boundary with Costa Rica under the Loubet award had not been completely demarcated when Panama declared her independence. Although Costa Rica and Panama reached a satisfactory solution about their boundary under that award upon the Pacific side, yet they could not agree about their limits upon the Atlantic side. An acrimonious dispute seemed to end when, through the good offices of the United States, in March, 1910, the two nations agreed to a treaty stipulating that the chief justice of the United States should decide which was the boundary line between Panama and Costa Rica "most in accordance" with the Loubet award. By Article VII of the treaty both parties explicitly agreed to abide by the chief justice's decision. Ratifications of that treaty were duly exchanged at Washington on May 17, 1911. By the award of Chief Justice White—which was announced in 1914—a line drawn from the mouth of the Sixaola River upon the Atlantic side to a point near 9° north latitude beyond Cerro Pando was declared to be the line most in accordance with the intent of President Loubet. The line drawn by Justice White assigned a part of the territory upon the Atlantic coast that had been claimed by Panama to Costa Rica and allotted a portion of the territory claimed there by Costa Rica to Panama. The Isthmian Republic, however, objected to White's award, alleging that he had exceeded his authority. In 1920 she even proceeded to occupy a part of the territory in dispute. Armed conflicts occurred between Panama and Costa Rica which threatened to involve certain of their neighbors. When he became secretary of state under President Harding, Charles Hughes took a firm stand. He declared that Panama's allegations were groundless and demanded that she accept the boundary line that had been drawn in the arbitral award of Justice White. At that very juncture, the

boundary between Panama and Colombia was determined by Article III of the modified Thompson-Urrutia Treaty.

Literature of these Caribbean Nations.—In the languorous Spanish West Indies many poets flourished. During the age when Cuba was striving for independence, Diego Vicente Tejera wrote *Al ideal de la independencia de Cuba*, Enrique Varona edited the *Revista Cubana*, and in exile from his native land a gifted Cuban patriot named José Martí served as correspondent for *La Nación* of Buenos Aires. Of poets and romancers who were natives of the Dominican Republic may be mentioned Manuel de Jesús Galván, author of *Enriquillo*, a novel of the Spanish conquest, and Pedro Enríquez Ureña, who wrote *Antología Dominicana* and *Romances en América*. Juan José Cañas composed poems in Salvador. Antonio José de Irisarri, who was a native of Guatemala, spent a part of his life in Chile. He published a volume of poems, as well as a collection of essays upon philological topics. Another Guatemalan named José Batre y Montúfar published some imitative verses entitled *Tradiciones de Guatemala*. José Milla of Guatemala wrote history and historical novels. The poetic genius, Rubén Darío, gave lasting renown to his native country, Nicaragua, while sojourning in distant lands. Moved by varied currents of his age, among other poems he composed *Azul*, *Prosas Profanas*, and *Cantos de vida y esperanza*. Voicing a Spanish-American sentiment, in his ode *Á Roosevelt*, Darío exclaimed that when the United States shuddered, “a deep rumbling” passed “along the enormous vertebrae of the Andes!”

Summary.—Certain states considered in this chapter stand in a peculiar relation to their great Anglo-American neighbor. Because of the manner in which she attained her independence, and still more because of the Platt Amendment that defined her status with regard to the United States, Cuba has been under the tutelage of that government. Because of chronic fiscal difficulties which seemed to menace interference in her domestic concerns by creditor nations of Europe, the Dominican Republic was induced to agree to an arrangement by which the United States government undertook to administer her finances—and, as the sequel showed, her affairs—for a term of years. Although that arrangement undoubtedly

resulted in many advantages to the debtor republic, yet it led to virtual domination by the United States in Dominican affairs—a domination which many Dominicans now hotly resent! In pursuance of the precedent set in Santo Domingo, and because of similar conditions, the United States later undertook in an informal fashion to aid in the rehabilitation of the finances of Nicaragua. In Central America, as in the West Indies, this process of fiscal reconstruction has led to measures by the United States government which constituted an infringement upon the sovereign rights of a Latin-American nation. Marines from the United States have sometimes followed the bankers to support what has been designated as financial Imperialism. The acquisition by the United States of the Panama Canal and also the completion of the Canal have almost inevitably led to the assumption by that government of an increasing interest in the administration of the Isthmian Republic, especially since the outbreak of the World War. It is not an exaggeration to say that at least Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Panama are at present protectorates of the United States. Since undertaking this new rôle the government at Washington has been forced to realize that

When constabulary duty's to be done,
The policeman's life is not a happy one.

CHAPTER XVIII

IMPERIAL AND REPUBLICAN RULE IN MEXICO

The First Mexican Empire.—Emperor Agustín I, whose domains included the former viceroyalty of Mexico and the captaincy general of Central America, established a court in Mexico City with many officials and supernumeraries. To reward his soldiers he founded a military fraternity designated the Imperial Order of Guadeloupe. Yet his Empire did not endure long. Extraordinary expenses caused by the Revolution, by the formation of a new government, and by a lavish distribution of offices and pensions, sadly embarrassed his finances. Royalists opposed his rule because he had not placed a Spanish prince upon the Mexican throne as provided by the Plan of Iguala. Republicans protested against the paraphernalia of royalty and clamored for a republic. As bitter opposition to his régime developed among congressmen, by a decree dated October 30, 1822, the Emperor arbitrarily dissolved Congress, after having imprisoned some of its members.

Downfall of Agustín I.—Agustín I then appointed certain congressmen to a junta which served as a council of government. With its advice he tried to prevent the Empire from becoming bankrupt by making forced loans and by issuing paper money. In December, 1822, a disgruntled military commander named Antonio Santa Anna started an insurrection against the Imperial government. On February 1, 1823, with other military leaders, Santa Anna signed at Casa Mata a proclamation which was directed against Agustín I. The Plan of Casa Mata asserted that the cause for an uprising was the lack of a national Congress. As this plan found supporters in many parts of Mexico, and as the Emperor soon realized that it was impossible to be reconciled with the revolutionists, on March 19, 1823, he sent a letter of resignation to Congress. Agustín I asserted that he did not wish his

name to be made a pretext for civil war, and that, as the presence of an ex-Emperor might be an excuse for civil disturbances, he was willing to expatriate himself. On April 7, 1823, Congress decreed that the coronation of Agustín I was illegal and that the acts of the Imperial government were null. It granted the deposed ruler a pension upon condition that he should reside in Italy. Further, it declared that, in so far as the Plan of Iguala and the Treaty of Córdoba had created a governmental system, they were null and void. Soon afterwards Iturbide sailed for Italy.

Reorganization of the Government.—On March 31, 1823, Congress had decreed that executive authority should be vested in Generals Bravo, Victoria, and Negrete. The triumvirate selected a cabinet and took steps to reorganize the government. In May, 1823, Congress issued a decree which provided that delegates should be elected to a Constituent Congress. In that Congress, which assembled in November, the Republicans were divided into two factions: the Federalists, and the Centralists. Many of the followers of Iturbide joined the Federalist party, while the Royalists generally allied themselves with the Centralists. A Constituent Act of Federation, that was adopted by Congress and promulgated in the capital city on January 31, 1824—after the misguided Iturbide had been executed because of his return to Mexico—contained provisions about relations between the national government and the newly created Mexican states which were patterned after clauses in the Constitution of the United States.

Mexico's Constitution of 1824.—On October 4, 1824, the Constituent Congress promulgated a Constitution for the United Mexican States, which was modeled upon the United States Constitution. Article IV of the Mexican Constitution declared that Roman Catholicism should be perpetually the religion of the Mexican nation. It provided that members of the clergy should retain their *fueros*. Executive authority was vested in a President who should be elected for four years by the state legislatures and who, in a crisis, might be granted "extraordinary powers." Legislative authority was given to a Congress made up of a Senate and a House of Deputies. Senators were to be chosen by the state legislatures, while Deputies should be elected by districts in the

states. Judicial authority was granted to inferior courts and to a weak supreme court which was to be composed of judges chosen by the state legislatures. The Mexican Federation was to be composed of nineteen states and four territories. The states should have the right to frame their own constitutions. Shortly after the adoption of this fundamental law, the Constituent Congress passed an act which provided for the organization of a federal district that should include Mexico City.

The Republic under President Victoria.—The first president of Mexico under a republican régime was a Federalist with small political ability, General Guadeloupe Victoria. He was inaugurated on October 10, 1824; and on January 1, 1825, the first constitutional Congress of Mexico opened its sessions. Several months later the Spanish garrison in the castle of San Juan de Ulúa capitulated. President Victoria soon established commercial relations by treaty with England and received Joel Poinsett as minister from the United States. Partly as a result of Poinsett's influence, masonic lodges began to play an important rôle in Mexican politics. In 1827 a conspiracy was discovered which apparently aimed to reestablish Spanish rule in Mexico. The legislatures of certain states therefore decreed that Spaniards should be expelled. On December 20, 1827, Congress enacted a law to the same effect. In the election of 1828 Victoria's secretary of war, Manuel Gómez Pedraza, defeated General Vicente Guerrero. When the result became known, Guerrero's followers appealed to arms under the leadership of Santa Anna and Lorenzo de Zavala. After a bloody struggle in the streets of Mexico City, the revolutionists were victorious, Gómez Pedraza fled, and Congress named Guerrero president. By the insurrection of *Acordada*—as it was called—the party defeated at the polls had triumphed by the use of the sword.

President Guerrero.—One of Guerrero's first steps was to execute the law providing for the expulsion of Spaniards. Possibly that measure stimulated King Ferdinand VII to send General Barradas from Cuba with an expedition against Mexico. After capturing Tampico, Barradas was forced to capitulate to the Mexicans. At Jalapa, on December 4, 1829, Vice-President Anastasio Bustamante, who was in command of a division of the republic's soldiers, hypocritically declared

in favor of the restoration of the Constitution and the laws. President Guerrero marched against Bustamante but was soon deserted by his soldiers, and the rebels captured Mexico City. Vice-President Bustamante assumed the presidency, and shortly afterwards Guerrero was treacherously captured and executed. In 1832 Santa Anna issued a pronunciamiento against Bustamante who, after some bloody conflicts, was forced to sign an agreement by which he relinquished the presidency to Gómez Pedraza, who complacently served a few months as chief magistrate. In 1833, Santa Anna, the candidate of the so-called Liberal party, was elected president of Mexico.

Santa Anna as a Liberal.—Antonio López de Santa Anna was a native of Jalapa who had served under Iturbide in the struggle for independence. Passionate, energetic, wily, and inordinately ambitious, he apparently had no fixed political principle, except to dominate Mexican politics. A Mexican contemporary likened him to a chameleon; another compatriot characterized him as a tiger. By a strange whim Santa Anna allowed Vice-President Valentín Gómez Farias to assume the powers of president upon inauguration day: these two men alternately served as president in 1833 and 1834. At this juncture, under the leadership of Gómez Farias, the Liberal party essayed some measures of politico-religious reform. The government assumed the right to make ecclesiastical appointments, withdrew the support which the national administration had given in the collection of tithes, prohibited the clergy from engaging in public instruction, suppressed the University of Mexico, and established a national library. Those measures caused much discontent among the Conservatives, who were largely composed of persons with monarchical leanings and supporters of clerical privilege.

The Conservatives and the Seven Laws.—Pronunciamientos were issued in favor of the Roman Catholic religion and ecclesiastical *fueros*. Although Santa Anna had apparently approved some of the objectionable measures, yet he became the leader of the Conservatives: he annulled the reform laws and forced Gómez Farias into exile. A Congress which Santa Anna convoked was controlled by the Conservatives; it approved his actions and appointed General Miguel

Barragán provisional president. At the instance of Congress, in October, 1835, Barragán promulgated a decree which established a centralistic system of government. Under his successor José Justo Corro, Congress acting as a Constituent Assembly framed a species of Constitution that was embodied in Seven Laws—designated by some Mexicans the “Seven Plagues”—which were promulgated on December 30, 1836. Those laws provided that the chief executive authority was to be vested in a President who should serve for eight years. He should be aided by a council of government. Besides providing for legislative and judicial departments, those fundamental laws created a commission of congressmen denominated “the supreme conservative power” which was entrusted with the task of keeping the executive, legislative, and judicial magistrates in their proper spheres. Further, the Constituent Assembly suppressed the state legislatures and designated the states as departments. A *de facto* revolution thus became a revolution *de jure*.

Texas Becomes Independent.—Meantime events of international significance were taking place. Just before these laws were promulgated, Spain had by treaty acknowledged Mexico's independence. Grave difficulties had risen in Texas which, with Coahuila, had formed a state or a department in the Mexican republic. In imitation of the first empresario Stephen F. Austin who, according to a contract with the Mexican government, had established a settlement of United States citizens on the Brazos River, other enterprising Americans led colonists to Texas. Many of those settlers were from regions in the United States where slavery legally existed. By one device or another they preserved that institution in Texas, even though negro slavery was prohibited by Mexican law. Among those settlers the centralizing measures of 1835 and 1836 provoked great dissatisfaction. On March 2, 1836, a Convention was accordingly held at Washington, Texas, and a Declaration of Independence from Mexico was adopted. David G. Burnet was elected president of the Republic of Texas, and Samuel Houston, who had just arrived from the United States, was made commander in chief of the Texan army. After some spectacular conflicts, on April 21, 1836, the Texans luckily defeated the Mexican army under Santa

Anna at San Jacinto. While that commander was a prisoner, they induced him to sign a species of treaty which stated that the limits of Texas were not to extend beyond the Río Grande. By a law of the Texan Congress, this river was declared to be the western boundary of the Republic.

The Plan of Tacubaya.—In March, 1839, when Anastasio Bustamante, who had been elected president of Mexico under the centralized form of government, left the capital at the head of an army to fight his opponents, the supreme conservative power appointed Santa Anna provisional president. He soon retired from the presidential stage again, and after other fluctuations in the presidency had taken place, on September 28, 1841, he proclaimed the Plan of Tacubaya. This plan proposed that the executive and legislative authorities by the laws of 1836 should be swept away, that the commander in chief should choose two representatives for each department who should elect a provisional president, and that the new executive should reorganize the government.

Santa Anna as Dictator.—In October, 1841, Santa Anna entered Mexico City. At once he appointed the members of a junta, who selected him as provisional president. From October 10, 1841, to December 6, 1844, Santa Anna ruled as a Dictator either directly or through chosen substitutes. As the Congress convoked in accord with the Plan of Tacubaya attempted to frame a constitution which did not suit the Dictator, he arbitrarily dissolved it, and appointed a junta of notables which on June 12, 1843, promulgated a new Constitution for Mexico that was entitled "the Organic Basis" of the republic. This fundamental law provided for a centralistic government which has been styled a constitutional despotism. The electoral franchise was limited to persons with incomes; one-third of the Senators should be chosen by the national government; and that government was to appoint the chief magistrates for the departments. Soon afterwards, Santa Anna—the-will-o'-the-wisp of Mexican politics—was again made president: he governed directly or through a substitute until December, 1844. At that time he fell from power as the result of a popular revolution led by General Paredes who had issued a pronunciamiento denouncing the existing govern-

ment as a régime which ensured the domination of the privileged classes.

Difficulties with the United States.—After a brief *interregnum*, a junta of representatives of the departments elected Paredes president. Relations between Mexico and the United States, that had been disturbed for some time because of claims of United States citizens for damages or injuries suffered south of the Río Grande, became acute because of the annexation of Texas by the United States in accordance with a joint resolution of March 1, 1845. An attempt by the United States to adjust the differences with Mexico about claims and about the disputed boundary between Texas and Mexico failed: thus those Mexicans who maintained that the incorporation of Texas with the United States was a just cause for war acquired predominance in Mexico's councils. When President Polk ordered soldiers under General Taylor to occupy territory on the left bank of the Río Grande—which Mexico claimed did not of right belong to Texas—conflicts took place between Mexican soldiers and United States soldiers. On May 11, 1846, President Polk sent a message to Congress stating that American blood had been shed upon American soil and that war existed by the act of Mexico.

Conquest of Mexico by the United States.—On May 13, 1846, the Congress of the United States declared the existence of "a state of war" with Mexico. Under the direction of General Winfield Scott, armies were sent into Mexico. In June, 1846, General Kearney was directed to lead an expedition into Upper California via Santa Fé. In August he occupied that city, and in September he started for California. Meantime, United States naval forces under Commodores Sloat and Stockton had taken possession of Monterey, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Soldiers under General Wool and Colonel Doniphan invaded Chihuahua. After two battles the soldiers of Taylor drove the Mexicans across the Río Grande, in a three days' battle they again defeated the Mexicans at Monterey, and then they occupied the capitals of Coahuila and Tamaulipas. After Santa Anna had been decisively defeated by Taylor at Buena Vista, soldiers under General Scott invested Vera Cruz and captured it on March 29. On

April 8, 1847, those soldiers began their march from Vera Cruz to Mexico City. After they had won the battle of Cerro Gordo and some other battles near Mexico City, they stormed Chapultepec, and occupied the capital on September 14, 1847. In November, Commodore Shubrick occupied Mazatlán. By the end of 1847, thousands of United States soldiers were stationed throughout Mexico. After some negotiations, the war was ended by a treaty which was signed at Guadeloupe Hidalgo on February 2, 1848. By the Treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo Mexico ceded to the United States the regions known as Upper California and New Mexico and northern portions of the states of Sonora, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas. In return the United States undertook to satisfy all claims of her citizens against Mexico prior to this treaty and agreed to pay the vanquished nation fifteen million dollars in gold. The United States thus gained fair provinces from Mexico.

Aftermath of the War.—The victories of the invaders had precipitated changes in the Mexican government and drained its treasury. After the treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo became known, President Herrera suppressed a revolt led by Paredes. Herrera and his cabinet promoted some much-needed reforms. A law was enacted which limited the size of the army. Steps were taken to build a navy. Despite the funds paid by the United States, Mexico was financially embarrassed. Attempts were consequently made to readjust her foreign debt and to consolidate her domestic debt. The government formed a project for the establishment of military colonies along the northern frontier for protection against Indian raids and against aggression by the United States. In 1851 Mariano Arista was elected president; and Herrera soon retired with the reputation of being a lover of peace and an honest man. He was the first President of Mexico who peacefully and legally transferred the chief magistracy to another's hand.

President Arista.—President Arista, who was inaugurated in 1851, did not possess decided views upon political questions. In the main, he followed the policy of General Herrera. President Arista tried to rehabilitate Mexico's finances by reducing the salaries of officials. The discontent produced in

some quarters by his attempt at economy was intensified by the fact that he pursued a vacillating course in politics. Upon the one hand, the President provoked the opposition of the Conservatives who hoped that his downfall would be followed by the accession of Santa Anna; while, upon the other hand, he aroused the apprehensions of Liberals who feared that he might become a dictator. Revolts broke out against the government in different quarters; and various pronunciamientos were issued by aspiring reformers. A colonel of the national guard issued a proclamation announcing himself in favor of the deposition of Arista and of the resumption of power by Santa Anna. On January 5, 1853, Arista relinquished the presidency.

Santa Anna as a Conservative.—After a brief *interregnum*, when the functions of chief magistrate were exercised by provisional presidents, in 1853 Santa Anna was elected president again. Upon returning from exile in Colombia, he was greeted with enthusiasm when he landed at Vera Cruz on April 1, 1853. He selected a cabinet composed of prominent Conservatives, among whom was the historian, Lucas Alamán. Two new cabinet members were selected: a secretary of the interior; and a secretary of public improvements. Santa Anna suppressed the legislatures of the departments. He made appointments and removals in the civil administration and in the army largely with a view to strengthen his authority and prestige. A strict law was enacted which was directed against conspiracies. Secret police were established and espionage prevailed to an extraordinary extent. The press was deprived of all liberty. There were published in the capital city only those journals which acted as organs of the administration. In a vain attempt at retrenchment the national government took control of all property and contributions that had belonged to the departments. When the secretary of finance proposed, however, that unused church property should be hypothecated to secure a government loan, the clergy raised such a storm of protest that he relinquished his post. Yet new and onerous taxes were imposed upon laymen.

Monarchical Tendencies.—Santa Anna considerably increased the army. He reestablished the Imperial order of Guadeloupe and conferred upon himself the title most serene

highness. On December 16, 1853, he issued a decree announcing that he would continue to exercise dictatorial powers so long as he might deem necessary. Rumors were even circulated that the aged Dictator intended to promote the establishment of a European monarchy in Mexico.

Proclamation of the Plan of Ayutla.—On March 1, 1854, Colonel Villareal issued a daring proclamation at Ayutla. The Plan of Ayutla was a programme which embodied the views of persons who objected to domination by privileged classes. It was composed of articles which were designed to furnish the basis for a provisional government. Santa Anna was to cease exercising governmental functions at once. A representative assembly should be convoked which was to select a president *ad interim*. Within fifteen days that president should summon a constituent congress which was to frame a constitution. This plan was hailed with joy by many Mexicans. After he vainly attempted by force of arms to defeat the insurrectionists, realizing that the revolution was steadily gaining in strength, Santa Anna reluctantly decided to expatriate himself. In August, 1855, he sailed ingloriously from Vera Cruz on a vessel bound for Havana. The Plan of Ayutla was then proclaimed in Mexico City, and a junta of Liberals soon selected General Juan Álvarez as provisional president. As signs of dissension appeared in the ranks of the victorious Liberals, in accordance with a clause in the Plan of Ayutla, President Álvarez renounced his authority in favor of his secretary, General Ignacio Comonfort. On December 11, 1855, Comonfort became president.

Religious Reforms under President Comonfort.—During Comonfort's presidency a number of significant measures were adopted. In November, 1855, a law was promulgated—called the Juárez Law after the secretary of justice—which abolished the *fueros* of the clerical and military classes. In June, 1856, the President approved a bill which has ordinarily been designated the Lerdo Law after the secretary of finance who framed it. Its object was to abolish all properties held by the dead hand that were not actually used by the Church or by religious corporations. It defined corporations so as to include all religious communities of both sexes. Its first article stipulated that all properties leased by tenants from

religious corporations might be purchased by those tenants from the Church at a price which was to be determined by the rent. In reality those laws were constitutional reforms designed especially to abolish ecclesiastical privileges and exemptions. The clergy met them with vigorous opposition, especially at Puebla where a pronunciamiento was issued against the government. Upon being informed of a clerical conspiracy in Mexico City, President Comonfort ordered that the monastery of Franciscans in that city should be suppressed, and that their property should be sequestered, with the exception of their principal church. Those measures served to embitter the opposition to Comonfort. Priests fervently exhorted the people to take up arms against the Liberals.

The Framing of the Constitution of 1857.—Meantime a Constituent Congress had been framing another Constitution. Some congressmen argued that the Constitution of 1824 was better adapted to the Mexicans than any other project. The metropolitan archbishop protested against a proposal that there should be an article in the Constitution guaranteeing religious freedom in Mexico. On February 5, 1857, a new organic law was signed by the members of Congress; and President Comonfort swore to recognize and support it. Many of its clauses showed the influence of the United States Constitution.

Its Prohibitions and Personal Guaranties.—An entire section of the Mexican Constitution of 1857 dealt with the rights of man. An article of that section stipulated that within the Mexican republic no one should be judged by special laws or by extraordinary tribunals, and that no individual or corporation should have *fueros* or should enjoy emoluments that were not in compensation for public services as stipulated by law. Another article provided that no civil or ecclesiastical corporation of whatever character should have the legal capacity to acquire or administer real estate, except such buildings as might be necessary for the service of the respective corporation. The jurisdiction of military tribunals was restricted to cases involving military discipline. Other articles aimed to guarantee the liberty of the press, the freedom of the people to petition the government, and the inviolability of correspondence. Arbitrary imprisonment,

cruel punishments, and confiscation of property were prohibited. Slaves who might set foot in Mexico were to become free. This Constitution did not recognize Roman Catholicism as the sole religion of Mexico.

Provisions for a National Government.—The Constitution of 1857 declared that sovereignty was located in the people. It vested the executive authority in a President, who should be chosen for four years by indirect election as prescribed by law. Ecclesiastics were made ineligible for election to that office. The chief justice of the supreme court should act as the substitute for the President. He was granted very extensive executive authority; he could select his own cabinet and make other important appointments. Legislative authority was vested in a Congress composed of a House of Deputies and a Senate. Deputies should be elected every two years by Mexican citizens. Two Senators should be chosen for each state and for the federal district by indirect election. An exclusive power of the Senate was the right to appoint a provisional governor in case the governor of a state or territory should disappear. Among the exclusive powers of the House of Deputies was the right to consider the resignation of the President or of a justice of the supreme court. It also had the right to examine financial reports submitted by the executive, as well as to initiate taxes to cover current expenditures. Under certain conditions, Congress might form new states within the limits of existing states. Bills might be introduced into Congress by the President, by congressmen, or by state legislatures. Provision was made for a permanent deputation composed of congressmen who should exercise special powers during the recess of Congress. Judicial power was vested in supreme, district, and circuit courts. Judges of the supreme court should be elected by indirect popular vote for six years. Amendments to the Mexican Constitution passed by a two-thirds vote of Congress were to become effective after they had been approved by a majority of the state legislatures.

Other Provisions.—In the Constitution of 1857 the states were restored to the status which they had been granted in 1824. This Constitution declared that the powers which were not expressly granted by it to the general government

were reserved to the states. Each state was to adopt a republican and representative form of government for its internal régime. The federal government should protect the states against invasion or internal violence. A unique clause of the Constitution provided that, if this fundamental law were violated or discarded by revolution, the responsible parties should be tried for treason.

The Conservative Reaction.—Many Liberals acclaimed this Constitution, although it was silent about religious liberty. On the other hand, clerical and military leaders denounced it; for it contained a generous bill of rights; it deprived them of ancient and cherished privileges, and also excluded them from political offices. No sooner was it promulgated than bishops issued edicts which declared that any one who should swear to obey it would be excommunicated. On December 1, 1857, General Comonfort, who had been elected president, assumed his duties. Although a brave man on the field of battle, yet he was timid and vacillating in politics. A conspiracy was soon formed to abrogate the Constitution; and at Tacubaya on December 17, 1857, General Félix Zuloaga issued a pronunciamiento against the new régime.

The Plan of Tacubaya.—The Plan of Tacubaya proposed that the Constitution of 1857 should be annulled, that supreme authority should be vested in Comonfort, and that he should be empowered to convoke an extraordinary Congress which was to frame another constitution for Mexico. Although Congress protested, yet, after some hesitation, the President officially announced his acceptance of the plan. He then dissolved Congress and cast into prison some Liberal leaders, including Benito Juárez, a judge of the supreme court. Certain Mexican states protested against the arbitrary measures of Comonfort, while some adherents of the Plan of Tacubaya deserted him. After struggling against his enemies in Mexico City for some time, and after having liberated Juárez, in January, 1858, accompanied by a few faithful followers, Comonfort sailed from Vera Cruz for the United States. In his place the Conservatives had proclaimed Zuloaga president.

Rise of Benito Juárez.—On January 11, 1858, the Liberals proclaimed as provisional president Benito Juárez, who

established his government at Vera Cruz. The man who thus became a salient figure in a stirring drama of Mexican history was a full-blooded Zapotec Indian. Tradition has it that at twelve years of age he was illiterate. A Franciscan padre taught the lad to read Castilian and decided to train him for the priesthood. This monk sent Benito to an ecclesiastical seminary in the city of Oajaca where he made rapid progress. Soon he discarded the design of becoming a priest and undertook to study the law. After 1846 Benito Juárez began to play a prominent rôle in politics: he served as a Deputy in Congress; he became a model governor of the state of Oajaca, and also acquired a reputation as an honest lawyer.

Civil Strife.—The choice of Zuloaga and Juárez as presidents by opposing parties was followed by three years of internecine conflict. This struggle was between the Liberals who supported the politico-religious reforms which had been placed upon the statute books, and the Conservatives who opposed those measures. Among the earliest steps of Zuloaga's government was to abrogate the Lerdo Law. During this strife diplomatic relations between Mexico and certain foreign nations were for a time broken off. The reactionary leaders secured financial and other aid from the clergy. Upon the other side the supporters of Juárez were inspired by the news that their government had been recognized by the United States. The Liberals established their center of operations at Vera Cruz, while the Conservatives held Mexico City. The devouring flames of civil war soon spread over all of Mexico.

The "War of the Reform."—As a war measure, at Vera Cruz in July, 1859, Juárez promulgated certain laws which aimed to carry the anti-clerical struggle of the Liberals to its logical climax. Those reform laws provided that Church and State should be completely separated; all ecclesiastical property, except churches and their contents, should be confiscated to the nation; and all monastic orders and religious communities should be suppressed. Roman Catholicism was to be protected just like any other religion. Thenceforth civil matrimony was to be the only legal mode of marriage within the republic; civil authori-

ties should register births, marriages, and deaths. The control of cemeteries was transferred from the Church to the State. These laws served as a programme for the Liberals in the so-called "War of the Reform." The diplomat who represented the republic at the Papal See was instructed to close his legation and to bring its archives to Mexico.

Triumph of the Liberals.—Eventually the reactionary soldiers were decisively defeated at Calpulalpan on December 22, 1860. General Miramón and other Conservative leaders hastily fled from the capital, and three days later a Liberal general named González Ortega occupied that city. Three years of bloody and fratricidal war had terminated in the defeat of the clerical party. The champions of the new Constitution and of religious reform were victorious.

Juárez and Reconstruction.—In January, 1861, President Juárez began the large task of reconstruction. Juárez soon ordered that the diplomatic representatives of Spain, Guatemala, Ecuador, and the Holy See should be expelled from Mexico because of aid which they had furnished the Conservatives. He replaced the ministers who represented Mexico at foreign courts by other diplomats, and even ordered that certain bishops of the Mexican Church should be exiled. Despite armed opposition, he executed the reform laws throughout Mexico. In June, 1861, Congress announced that Juárez had been elected president.

European Intervention.—As a result of the costly war Mexico's finances were extremely embarrassed. On July 17, 1861, Congress therefore enacted a law providing that the government should suspend all payments of interest for two years, even upon foreign claims which were guaranteed by customs duties. That law caused the governments of England, France, and Spain to enter into a treaty at London on October 31, 1861. The Treaty of London provided that those nations might occupy portions of the Mexican coast in order to enforce the payment of claims of their citizens; it stipulated, however, that the autonomy and integrity of Mexico should be respected.

By January, 1862, Spanish, French, and English soldiers had disembarked at Vera Cruz. Soon afterwards President Juárez issued a proclamation announcing the intention of his government to pay all just claims and exhorting all Mexicans to unite in order to save the honor and independence of the republic. After the allies had reached an agreement by which the English and the Spanish detachments left Mexican soil, the policy of Napoleon III—who was aping his great namesake—was disclosed as a project to subvert the republic of Mexico. In the pursuit of his design he was encouraged by Mexican reactionaries in Europe who fondly hoped that a monarchy might be established upon the ruins of the republic.

Establishment of the Second Mexican Empire.—In May, 1863, French soldiers under General Bazaine occupied Puebla. On June 7 the invaders entered the capital city. There, under the auspices of the French commander, General Forey, a junta of reactionaries was assembled which on July 10 made the following declarations: that the Mexican nation adopted as her form of government a hereditary monarchy with a Catholic prince as a ruler; that her sovereign should have the title of Emperor of Mexico; and that the Mexican Imperial crown should be offered to Archduke Maximilian of Austria. When a commission of Mexicans offered this crown to that prince in his beautiful home upon the shores of the Adriatic, he accepted it. Meantime in certain parts of distracted Mexico patriots were fighting French soldiers and their reactionary supporters. The seat of the patriot government was successively transferred from San Luis Potosí to Monterey, from Monterey to Saltillo, and from Saltillo to Chihuahua. At last it was located at El Paso del Norte—later known as Juárez. Emperor Maximilian entered Mexico City on July 12, 1864.

The Policy of the United States.—The United States, which was being torn by the Civil War, declined to recognize Emperor Maximilian: she viewed President Juárez as the true head of the Mexican government. Secretary of State Seward informed the French government of his dissatisfaction with the establishment in Mexico of an

exotic monarchy. After the close of the Civil War, Seward made strong and insistent protests to Napoleon III against the operations of French troops in Mexico. Partly because of those protests Napoleon III at last decided completely to withdraw his soldiers. Early in 1867 the last detachments of the French invaders sailed from Vera Cruz. Still relying upon assurances of aid given him by Napoleon III, the unfortunate Maximilian remained in Mexico. Captured by soldiers of the republic, he was court-martialed and shot at Querétaro on June 19, 1867. A tragedy ended what some Mexican historians have designated their second war for independence.

Juárez as President in Peace Times.—President Juárez entered the capital city on July 15, 1867, amid the plaudits of his people. At once he took measures to reestablish a national government. On August 14 he issued regulations which provided for the election of state and federal magistrates. When Congress assembled in December, 1867, it announced that Juárez had been elected president of the republic for the term ending on November 30, 1871. On January 8, 1868, Congress issued a manifesto announcing that the government would not oppose the reestablishment of diplomatic intercourse with nations which had recognized the Emperor Maximilian, provided that their governments would base the new relations upon justice and reciprocal interest. The United States used her influence to promote the reestablishment of diplomatic intercourse between Mexico and European nations. On October 13, 1870, an amnesty law was passed by the Mexican Congress which included all persons who had been guilty of conspiracy, sedition, or treason against the government. In December, 1870, President Juárez promulgated a civil code which had been formulated for the federal district and for the territory of Lower California—a code which was to go into effect on March 1, 1871. In the campaign of that year Juárez, Lerdo de Tejada, and Porfirio Díaz were candidates for the presidency. As no candidate secured the required majority, Congress declared in October that Juárez was the constitutional president. On July 18, 1872, President Juárez suddenly fell

ill and died. His body was interred in the cemetery of San Fernando in the capital city where the Mexicans annually gather to do homage to their great national hero.

Religious Reforms under Lerdo de Tejada.—Lerdo de Tejada, who was chief justice of the supreme court, quietly assumed the position of provisional president. He was elected president shortly afterwards. On December 1, 1872—retaining the cabinet of President Juárez—he began his constitutional term of four years. His administration was marked by the opening to traffic of the railroad between Vera Cruz and Mexico City on January 1, 1873. As there was still opposition to the politico-religious reforms of Juárez, on September 25, 1873, Congress adopted constitutional amendments which were intended to guarantee those measures. Church and State were declared to be independent of each other: Congress was inhibited from passing laws that would establish or prohibit any religion. Marriage was declared to be a civil contract. Religious institutions were prohibited from acquiring real estate, except upon certain conditions. The religious oath which had been required of witnesses was abolished. A declaration was made that the Mexican government might not recognize monastic orders nor might it permit their establishment for whatever purpose.

Opposition of Porfirio Díaz.—Meantime opposition to the administration of President Lerdo de Tejada came to a head. The leader of that movement was Porfirio Díaz, who in November, 1871, had led an unsuccessful revolt against Juárez maintaining that he had not been fairly elected. At that time Díaz framed the Plan of La Noria which advocated the Constitution of 1857 and electoral liberty. He maintained that the President of the republic should not be eligible for reelection and urged that the government should be reconstructed by a convention of delegates chosen from each state. In December, 1875, Díaz left Mexico and established a base of operations at Brownsville, Texas. About a month later in the state of Oajaca one of his partisans proclaimed the Plan of Tuxtepec which repudiated the federal magistrates. That plan was hailed with joy in several other states. The election

of 1876 thus took place in the midst of civil dissensions. After Congress announced that Lerdo de Tejada had been reëlected, many Mexicans repudiated the election and joined Díaz who led an uprising in the state of Puebla. On November 16, 1876, the revolutionists encountered the soldiers of the government at Tecocac and defeated them. Shortly afterwards the capital city surrendered to the revolutionary army; and Porfirio Díaz assumed the position of provisional president. Congress declared that Díaz had been elected president on May 2, 1877. It soon amended the Constitution to stipulate that four years should elapse before a President might be reëlected.

His Early Career.—Porfirio Díaz had been baptized in the city of Oajaca on September 15, 1830. After Díaz had attained fame September 15 was assumed to be the date of his birth which, however, was probably a day earlier. Through his mother Indian blood ran in his veins. Upon his father's side he was descended from an Andalusian who had emigrated to Mexico in the sixteenth century. After receiving some training in the manual arts, the youth had been sent to an ecclesiastical seminary in his native city. He soon relinquished the notion of becoming a priest, however, and entered an academy where he studied law under Benito Juárez. While a law student Porfirio evidently felt the stirrings of a military spirit; for he offered to volunteer in the war with the United States, and expressed his desire to fight against Santa Anna. In December, 1856, Governor Juárez appointed Díaz a captain in the national guard. As a supporter of the reform laws, he was appointed military commander at Tehautepec, where he exercised autocratic authority. Colonel Díaz became a leader against the French invaders and was made commander of the patriot soldiers in his native state. The narrative of his life during those formative years reads like a romance—he became a man of daring, resource, and iron will. A lover of Mexican independence with a fondness for autocratic rule, he was a chieftain whose descent inspired confidence in the Indians, while his genuine ability won the respect and support of the upper classes.

His First Presidency: Internal Reforms.—On May 5, 1877, Porfirio Díaz became president of Mexico for the first time. As advisers he at first selected his own partisans. Eventually he also appointed followers of Juárez and Lerdo to office: thus he won the confidence of some political opponents. President Díaz soon gave to Mexico what Ramón Castilla had given to Peru—a good peace. Clever bandits he induced to enroll as rural police who were employed to check the depredations of their former companions. He gave a stimulus to public education and promoted the establishment of astronomical and meteorological observatories. He reduced the size of the army, abolished many sinecures, and thus improved the nation's finances. His secretary of finance undertook negotiations with foreign capitalists for the construction of railroads. In September, 1880, in accordance with the action of Congress, President Díaz signed a contract with the Sonora Railroad Company—which was organized under the laws of Massachusetts—for the construction of a railroad from Guaymas in the state of Sonora to the northern frontier of Mexico to connect with a railway in the United States. As an aid to the construction of this railway, the Mexican government granted to the company the right of way through the republic and also promised to pay it three thousand five hundred pesos for each mile of railroad. During the same month Díaz made a similar contract for the building of a railway through central Mexico, which should stretch from the capital city to El Paso del Norte. That contract had scarcely been signed when workmen began to lay the ties of the Mexican Central Railroad.

International Relations.—Some significant steps were taken in international relations. Diplomatic intercourse with Spain, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Portugal, Belgium, and even France was resumed. Relations were re-established with a majority of the Latin-American states. With the United States—which for a time did not recognize the Díaz government—there were difficulties provoked by the raids of Mexican Indians who attacked towns north of the border. Yet the awards made to United States citizens by a claims convention which was signed

in 1876, were regularly paid by the Mexican government. Díaz protested against instructions given by the United States to General Ord to pursue marauding Indians across the borders into Mexico; but in July, 1882, a convention was signed by Mexico and the United States for the reciprocal crossing of the frontier by soldiers in pursuit of savages.

Material Progress under President González.—Meantime the term of Díaz had elapsed, and, although some states proposed that he should again be a candidate for the presidency, he declined to run. But his candidate, General Manuel González, was elected president. President González appointed Díaz secretary of public works. The period from 1880 to 1884 was accordingly in some particulars a continuation of the previous administration. Early in 1883 the Sonora railroad was opened to traffic. By April, 1884, the main line of the Mexican Central Railroad was in operation from El Paso del Norte to Mexico City. Other public improvements, that is to say, bridges, wharves, custom houses, and telegraphs were promoted. A national bank was founded in the capital city. Attempts which were made to reorganize the debt that Mexico owed to English bankers were not altogether successful, while the coinage of a large quantity of subsidiary nickel coins of low intrinsic value provoked much discontent. A commercial code and a civil code were promulgated. In 1884 a code of mining laws was adopted by the national government which, departing from the Roman ideal that Mexico had inherited from Spain—that a distinction might properly be drawn between the owner of the surface soil and ownership in the subsoil which was vested in the State—provided that a person who secured a title to land in Mexico should also have the right to oil and minerals found below its surface. In the same year Díaz was again elected president.

Reëlections of Díaz.—Porfirio Díaz was inaugurated president for the second time on December 1, 1884. He was reëlected in 1888, 1892, 1896, 1900, 1904, and 1910. This was made possible by successive changes in the Constitution. In October, 1887, Congress amended the Con-

stitution so as to remove the prohibition upon the immediate reelection of the President. In December, 1890, it further amended the Constitution so as to remove all restrictions upon the President's reelection. And in 1904 it provided that the President's constitutional term should be extended from four years to six. If we may trust the statements of Mexican Liberals, during all these years there was no open political opposition to Porfirio Díaz: presidential elections were a mere farce. His rule lasted even longer than the reign of Francia in Paraguay. Not until Díaz became senile did serious opposition to his mastery become manifest.

Character of His Rule.—During more than a quarter of a century Porfirio Díaz engrossed the power and influence of the state. More truthfully perhaps than Rosas might he have said *l'état c'est moi*. This remarkable man was a Dictator who, at times, in spite of his errors and faults, might have been characterized as benevolent. It is to be presumed, however, that the average, intelligent Mexican would have said—had he felt free to speak frankly—that Díaz ruled by the clever use of an iron hand. To him the national Congress was like plastic clay.

Foreign Relations.—Not without success did Díaz strive to keep on good terms with foreign nations, especially with the United States. When President Barrios of Guatemala tried to reestablish the Central American Union, and other Central American nations appealed to President Díaz, he expressed his disapproval of that policy. The death of Barrios, which occurred soon afterwards, extricated Mexico from a delicate international situation. As indicated in the preceding chapter, when a war broke out in 1907 between Honduras and Nicaragua, Mexico coöperated with the United States in good offices to terminate that struggle. When war between Nicaragua and Salvador appeared imminent, Presidents Díaz and Roosevelt proposed that a peace conference of the nations of Central America should be held at Washington.

Fiscal Reforms.—A difficult problem which faced Díaz was the reduction and reorganization of Mexico's steadily increasing debt. In June, 1885, laws were enacted that

aimed to ameliorate the fiscal situation. One law authorized the issue of bonds amounting to twenty-five million pesos which bore interest at six per cent. Another law provided for the funding of the national debt which should include not only the floating debt incurred since 1882 but also various foreign claims that had been urged against the republic. In accordance with a law of December 13, 1887, a loan of £10,500,000 sterling was contracted in the following year with a German banking firm. This loan seems to have been partly used to satisfy the holders of the English debt against Mexico. Subsequently additional loans were made by the Díaz government for other purposes: to pay subsidies to railway contractors, to liquidate the finances of the national bank, and to raise money for the construction of a railroad across the Isthmus of Tehauntepec. In 1899, under Secretary of the Treasury José Limantour, who was one of the most capable Mexicans of the Díaz era, the debt was again funded and consolidated. Critics of Díaz, however, claimed that those readjustments caused millions of pesos to flow into the pockets of the ruling autocracy and its supporters.

Internal Improvements.—Various public improvements went on apace during the dictator's rule. A harbor was built at Tampico. Existing railroads were extended, and new lines were built. Through contracts with English financiers President Díaz secured the construction of a railroad across the Isthmus of Tehauntepec from Coatzacoalcas to Salina Cruz. In 1904 he purchased the railway which was being built between Córdoba—on the line between Mexico City and Vera Cruz—and the Tehauntepec railway. Five years later he secured control of the most important railway lines in the country at the cost of about two hundred million dollars. Díaz thus added heavy burdens to the national debt.

The Drainage Canal.—A unique improvement of the Díaz régime was the construction of a canal to prevent the inundation of the valley in which the capital city was located. In viceregal days the Spaniards had compelled Indians to dig a canal called Nochistengo to drain the valley, but that ditch did not prevent floods. Díaz soon

took steps to complete and perfect the drainage canal: in 1886 definite plans were adopted; and on May 17, 1900, the big ditch was formally inaugurated. This work, which cost some twenty-five million pesos, was composed of a canal about twenty-two miles long emptying into a tunnel of five miles in length that conveyed the water to the valley of Tequixquiac. The valley of Mexico was thus drained of surplus water and the sanitary condition of the capital city was much improved.

Census of 1895.—The first general census of Mexico, which was taken in 1895, showed her population to number 12,570,195. Imports for the fiscal year 1894–1895 amounted to 40,000,000 pesos while exports came to 105,000,000 pesos: of this 60,000,000 was in precious metals. The railway mileage almost totaled 6000 miles. Telegraph lines owned by the states and by the nation aggregated some 30,000 miles. The total revenues of the Mexican states amounted to 16,000,000 pesos, while the federal revenues came to 50,000,000 pesos. In 1896 the national revenues remained the same, while the expenditures came to 45,000,000 pesos, leaving a surplus in the treasury for the first time in the history of independent Mexico.

System of Land Holding.—A vital problem which Díaz did not solve successfully concerned the ownership of land. When he came to power countless acres in Mexico were held by descendants of prominent families that had succeeded the conquistadors. Those proprietors cultivated their large estates by a vassal peasantry composed largely of aborigines. Lands held by Indian pueblos or tribes in common ownership were called *egidos*. Here and there extensive strips of land were held in private ownership by Indians or by *mestizos*. Frequently the Indian who lived upon a small strip of land had not taken the legal steps necessary to secure the title, although he was the rightful owner. Thus when a new land law was enacted in 1886 which gave to any person the right to claim a strip of land as unoccupied (*tierra baldía*) and to acquire possession of it upon making a payment to the state, many small landowners lost their lands. Further, some of the tribal lands were carved up and distributed. Many strips of land ultimately passed into the possession

of large landowners; while other strips became the property of foreigners.

Mexican Peonage.—With the decrease in number of small landed proprietors and with the disappearance of communal lands belonging to the lower classes, the condition of the Mexican belonging to the lower classes—the peón—became almost intolerable. He was often induced or compelled to borrow money; he was bound to service for the payment of his debts; frequently, except in name, he became a serf. Indians were captured by force in the state of Sonora, transported to the plantations of Yucatan, and, with the connivance of federal officials, sold into bondage. Obviously the plight of the lower classes held the bitter seeds of a class revolution.

Interest of United States Citizens in Mexico.—Another feature of the Díaz régime which much disturbed some of his fellow-citizens was a steady increase in the interest of the United States in their country. Not only were United States capitalists largely instrumental in the construction of important railroads, but they became financially interested in Mexican lands, mines, and factories. Partly because of the enterprise of citizens of the United States, in various sections of Mexico chilled plows took the place of crooked sticks, modern methods were used in the extraction and reduction of ores, and cotton mills and machine shops were erected. Arid lands were irrigated. Electricity was introduced into important cities. Farmers from the United States purchased lands south of the Río Grande; at times the rights of native Mexicans were none too scrupulously regarded. Under the legislation of 1884, capitalists from the United States purchased titles to valuable lands with subsoils containing minerals and petroleum. A careful observer estimated in 1904 that the United States capital invested in the lands and mines of Mexico aggregated more than four hundred million dollars. As early as the beginning of the present century, there were students of Mexican politics who inquired: "What would be the policy of the United States if a revolution should break out in Mexico?"

Mexican Politics.—At that time political parties—as understood in the United States—scarcely existed south of the Río Grande. The political fortunes of Mexico were in the hands Porfirio Díaz and his cabinet. As the Dictator grew older, he lost his grip on public affairs: the destinies of his country passed more and more into the hands of a group of his political advisers who were known as the Científicos. Those politicians looked upon Vice-President Corral as their leader. A group of Mexicans who considered General Reyes—at one time governor of Nueva León—as rising publicist were designated Reyistas. There is reason to believe that at times the uncrowned King of Mexico seriously thought of choosing a successor to himself. He seems to have spent some time in selecting, as well as in discarding, possible candidates; but, perhaps because of the difficulty of finding a candidate who would suit his advisers, perhaps because he was loath to relinquish his power, he clung to his post until a terrible storm which had long been gathering burst upon his country.

Francisco I. Madero.—His dictatorial rule was brought to an end through a propaganda which was promoted by Francisco I. Madero, a member of an influential family in northern Mexico who had received part of his education in the United States. In December, 1908, Madero published a booklet entitled *La sucesión presidencial en 1910* which was dedicated to the heroes of Mexico, to the Mexican press, and to all good Mexicans. In that volume he made an analysis of conditions in Mexico; he characterized the good and the evil of the Díaz régime. He criticised its policy of truckling to the United States, its muzzled press, its autocratic tendencies. In particular did he attack the restrictions and limitations upon elections: he insisted that in the approaching presidential election the people of Mexico should be allowed freely to express their desire whether or not General Díaz should be re-elected. Bitterly did he criticise the nomination of Vice-President Corral as a candidate for reelection, intimating that he had the qualifications which Díaz required his suc-

cessor to possess. Two clauses from this glowing polemic—that might indeed have been borrowed from the Plan of La Noria—became a slogan for the opponents of Díaz: liberty of suffrage and no reëlection of the president.

The Plan of San Luis Potosí.—The anti-reëlection party nominated Madero for the presidency. A few days before the presidential election, however, he was arrested and taken to San Luis Potosí. Eluding the vigilance of federal officials, he escaped to San Antonio, Texas, where he issued a manifesto stating that the elections of June, 1910, were illegal. He also published a plan which was dated San Luis Potosí, October 5, 1910. In this plan he declared that the recent elections of federal magistrates were void; that the government of Díaz should be ignored; that lands which had been unlawfully seized should be restored to their rightful owners; that the principle of no reëlection of president or vice-president of the Mexican republic, of governors of states, and of presidents of municipalities was a part of the republic's supreme law, pending the amendment of the Constitution; and that he assumed the position of provisional president of Mexico with the power to make war upon the usurping government of General Díaz. He named November 20, 1910, as the date for a general uprising against the usurpers. He asked that the persons and properties of foreigners should be respected. In the course of the anti-Díaz agitation certain agrarian and social reforms were championed by Madero's followers, especially an increase of wages for laborers and the division of landed estates among the proletariat.

Downfall of Díaz.—At the beginning of the revolt Madero's supporters were most numerous in northern Mexico, especially in the states of Durango and Chihuahua. In the early months of 1911, the revolutionists gained strength with surprising rapidity. The much-vaunted army of Díaz seemed to vanish into skeleton regiments. In April, 1911, the octogenarian Dictator so far yielded as to read a message to Congress proposing that the President of Mexico should not be reëlected, that administration should be reformed, and that large landed estates should be divided. He even made changes in his

cabinet. Still, in the negotiations between Díaz and Madero, the reformer insisted that there could be no peace in Mexico until the Dictator retired. On May 21, 1911, an agreement was therefore signed at Juárez by a representative of Díaz and representatives of the revolution. This provided that both President Díaz and Vice-President Corral should retire. For the time being, Francisco de la Barra, secretary of foreign relations, was recognized as the chief executive who should make the arrangements necessary for general elections.

Triumph of Madero.—During the *interregnum* a group of reformers organized the Constitutional Progressive party which nominated Madero for the presidency. That party won the special presidential election in October, 1911. Madero was inaugurated as president of Mexico in the following month, while Pino Suárez became vice-president. Meantime Congress amended the Constitution to prohibit the reelection of either President or Vice-President.

His Mistakes.—Yet the zealous idealist who had spread the gospel of reform throughout Mexico did not succeed as chief magistrate. As he gave certain followers of Díaz positions in his cabinet, Madero was suspected of being reactionary. When he tried in other ways to conciliate partisans of the ex-Dictator, he lost the support of extreme revolutioners. His enemies accused him of not having brought evil-doers of the former régime to justice. He was denounced because he did not properly carry out cherished plans for a distribution of land at nominal prices among the poor, landless class. A surplus in the national treasury his officials dissipated.

The Deluge Begins.—After Díaz came the deluge. It began by sporadic uprisings. General Reyes tried to start an insurrection in the state of Nueva León but was captured and eventually imprisoned in Mexico City. Victorious rebels under the leadership of General Orozco captured Chihuahua, but he was defeated by federal soldiers. A nephew of the exiled Dictator, Felix Díaz by name, taking as his battlecry the motto, "Peace and Justice," then assumed the revolutionary leadership and

seized Vera Cruz. Captured by a federal general—because of the supposed insecurity of the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa—Díaz was incarcerated in a penitentiary in the capital city. The crisis came early on the morning of February 9, 1913, when Anti-Maderistas freed General Reyes and Felix Díaz whom they had selected as their leaders. Ten bloody days followed: the capital city was bombarded by revolutionists; thousands of innocent people were slaughtered in the streets; and Reyes—whom some Mexicans viewed as a possible savior—was killed. Toward this bombardment the federal commander, a general of Aztec descent named Victoriano Huerta, took a dubious attitude. On February 18, after the imprisonment and the enforced resignation of the President and Vice-President, Huerta assumed the authority of chief magistrate. The chief of the republic's soldiers thus stood forth as a reactionary. On the night of February 23, while Madero and Pino Suárez were being transferred from the "national palace" to the penitentiary, their escort was attacked, during the ensuing scuffle shots were exchanged, and, when the smoke cleared away, the two prisoners of state were found dead.

The "Man of Iron."—An act of treachery thus ushered into the presidency a strong, cunning personality who flattered himself that he was "a man of iron." A political disciple and a former military commander of Díaz, it was not strange that in many particulars Huerta followed his master's example. American newspapers printed a cablegram from Huerta to the exiled Díaz declaring that "the revolution against you has been avenged."

The Plan of Guadeloupe.—The means by which Huerta had acceded to power at once provoked opposition in northern Mexico. On March 26, 1913, at the *hacienda* of Guadeloupe, near the capital of the state of Coahuila, certain Mexicans framed a project which declared that Huerta had committed treason to secure the presidency. The Plan of Guadeloupe repudiated his government, declared that Venustiano Carranza, governor of Coahuila, was "First Chief" of the "Constitutional" army, and that he would become the provisional president of the republic

when this army took possession of Mexico City. A stubborn country gentleman was thus proclaimed the leader of a movement that aimed to overthrow Huerta. A more picturesque figure in that revolution was Pancho Villa, Mexico's Fra Diavolo.

Civil War Again.—Opponents of Huerta were encouraged by the policy adopted by the United States. President Wilson refused to recognize Huerta—even after certain European nations had done so—largely because he was suspected of having connived at Madero's murder. Huerta disdainfully refused to enter into an arrangement proposed by John Lind, a special agent of the United States, which included a pledge to the effect that he would not become a candidate in the approaching presidential election. During the sanguinary struggles that occurred between Huerta's soldiers and the Constitutionalists, the properties and the lives of many foreigners were sacrificed.

A B C Mediation.—At this delicate juncture an affront by Mexicans to United States soldiers at Tampico caused Admiral Mayo to demand an apology from General Huerta in the form of a salute to the Stars and Stripes. As Huerta refused so to do, marines from the United States took possession of Vera Cruz; and her Congress adopted a joint resolution which disclaimed any intention to make war upon the Mexican republic. The occupation of Vera Cruz caused intense excitement in certain capitals of South America; and the A B C powers, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, undertook to mediate between the United States and the government of General Huerta. In May, 1914, there assembled at Niagara Falls, Canada, representatives of General Huerta, of the United States, and the ministers of the mediatory powers at Washington. The Constitutionalists were asked to send representatives to the conference; but, as Carranza would not agree to an armistice and to a discussion of internal conditions in Mexico, the mediators withdrew their invitation. In June, 1914, the members of the conference signed a protocol which arranged for the establishment of a provisional government in Mexico that was to be recognized by the mediating nations and by the United States.

Carranza Becomes President. — Shortly afterwards Huerta resigned. He was succeeded by Provisional President Carvajal. Negotiations for a settlement of difficulties between Carvajal and Carranza were futile, and on the night of August 12, 1914, the Provisional President and his followers evacuated Mexico City. Soldiers of the Constitutionalist army entered the capital on August 15. Five days later General Carranza assumed the executive power. Dissensions between Carranza and Villa soon broke out which resulted in a civil war between the two factions. Carranza, Villa, and Zapata occupied the capital city in rapid succession. In September, 1915, the United States, the A B C Powers, with Bolivia, Guatemala, and Uruguay agreed to recognize that Mexican faction which should display the most success in the maintenance of order. The result was the recognition of Carranza as *de facto* president of Mexico on October 19, 1915, by nine American nations, including the United States. After a gang of Mexican bandits under Villa had crossed the border and attacked Columbus, New Mexico, in 1916 the United States government dispatched soldiers under General Pershing in pursuit of the marauders. After a second punitive expedition from the United States had crossed the frontiers in pursuit of Mexican outlaws, Carranza's government strenuously objected. As Villa, by the aid of Mexican sympathizers, succeeded in eluding Pershing's soldiers, the attempts of the United States to preserve tranquillity upon her southern borders merely served to stimulate in Mexico the spirit of opposition to foreigners.

Conditions on the Eve of the World War: Education.— Revolutionary outbreaks had seriously disturbed Mexico's educational system. A law of 1896 had provided for free, elementary instruction for children between six and twelve years of age. National schools had been supplemented by academies established here and there by Protestant missionaries. Imposing educational structures had been erected at public expense. Various institutions of higher education were supported by missionaries or by the national government. The very name of university, however, was absent from the annals of public instruction

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from 1865—when Maximilian definitively closed the venerable University of Mexico—until 1910. Despite attempts to improve educational facilities in Mexico it appears that the instruction of the lower classes was neglected. During the civil wars, from 1910 to 1917, private and public schools in some sections of the republic were closed.

Industries.—In times of peace the chief occupations in Mexico are agriculture, cattle raising, and mining. Among the main crops are corn, sugar, cacao, tobacco, coffee, henequen, and cotton. Valuable woods are obtained from Mexican forests, such as cedar and mahogany. In certain parts of Mexico large herds of cattle and sheep ordinarily graze upon the fertile lowlands or roam over the grassy uplands. Mexico has valuable mines of silver, gold, copper, and lead; but many of her mines have been closed in recent years because of civil wars and revolutionary disturbances. As yet, the total production of coal in Mexico has not been enough to supply home consumption. Mexican manufacturing establishments are mainly cotton and woolen factories, ore reduction plants, paper mills, saw mills, breweries, and sugar mills. During recent revolutionary disturbances the chief occupation of many *peones* has been war.

Chief Exports.—During the administrations of Huerta and Carranza conditions in Mexico were very unstable. Statistics of industry and commerce during this epoch are often incomplete. An inkling of the industrial activities of the country may, however, be obtained from the figures of Mexico's exports for 1913 and 1918. In 1913 the exports were as follows in United States currency: animal products, \$9,918,916; vegetable products, \$42,971,477; mineral products, \$94,824,305; manufactured products, \$1,672,633; miscellaneous, \$815,477. In 1912-1913 the chief mineral exports of Mexico were: silver, \$45,646; gold, \$19,795,843; copper and copper ore, \$18,262,205; and lead \$2,453,286. Figures for 1918 showed that the exports of vegetable products had increased to \$64,468,662; exports of mineral products amounted to \$106,966,171; and miscellaneous items came to \$2,433,042. In 1918 the exports of petroleum amounted to \$70,250,000. Among the vegetable products

exported in that year henequen from Yucatan amounted to \$12,000,000.

Fiscal Condition.—By a law of 1905 the gold peso was made the monetary unit of Mexico. Ordinarily that coin was worth, in United States currency, about fifty cents. It has been estimated that in 1910 the total foreign debt of Mexico, including other obligations guaranteed by the national government, amounted to \$295,000,000. In May, 1913, a six per cent loan aggregating \$80,000,000 was authorized by President Huerta. Even before the World War began the interest payments upon almost all of the foreign debts of Mexico were in default.

Mexico's Varied Literature.—Poetry and prose in Mexico ran the entire gamut of her history. The poet Rodríguez Galván in *La profecía de Guatemoc* prophesied that the Mexicans would one day have to redeem in blood the horrible crimes of the conquistadors. José J. Pesado in *Las Aztecas* presented in Spanish dress the poems of an Aztec chieftain. Perhaps the most learned of Mexican historians who have dealt with the Spanish régime was Joaquín García Izcalbaceta. José de Jesús Díaz dealt with such dramatic episodes in the secession of Mexico from Spain as *El fusilamiento de Morelos*. The Revolution against Spain also furnished the background for Juan Díaz Covarrubia's historical novel *Gil Gómez el insurgente*. In his *Cuadro histórico de la revolución* Carlos M. de Bustamante made himself an invaluable chronicler of that epoch. Besides writing biographies of distinguished Mexicans, Roa Bárcena described his country's war with the United States in his *Recuerdos de la invasión norte-americana*. Vicente Riva Palacio, besides composing a volume in a notable coöperative history of Mexico, wrote a novel entitled *Calvario y Tabor* about French intervention. A versatile professor named Alfredo Chavero wrote learned treatises concerning aboriginal antiquities and also stirring dramas about the Aztecs. Gutiérrez Nájera wrote distinctive musical verses somewhat after the French model and founded a literary journal named *La Revista Azul*. The statesman Lucas Alaman wrote a notable history of Mexico in five volumes parts of which are injured by bias. A younger publicist was Federico Gamboa, a "dissector of souls" who wrote realistic novels and

composed Huerta's caustic rejoinders to Wilson's demands for that dictator's resignation.

Fine Arts.—Mexico has not made such distinctive contributions to the fine arts as certain countries of South America. In the days of Juárez an academy of painting and sculpture was replaced by a National School of Fine Arts. Before the downfall of Porfirio Díaz there were in that school some religious paintings by Mexican artists, as well as a few paintings by European masters. Upon the walls of the hall of the ambassadors of the "national palace" were a series of portraits of distinguished Mexican leaders from Hidalgo to Díaz. In the boulevards and plazas of the capital city there were statues to such national heroes as Guerrero and Morelos. Towering among those monuments was a bronze statue of Cuauhtemoc, the last of the Aztec monarchs, by Miguel Noreña. Upon the sides of its base were bronze representations of dramatic scenes from that chieftain's life by Gabriel Guerra, such as the arrival of the Spanish conquistadors in Mexico and the torture of Cuauhtemoc by Cortés. Carved by the Islas brothers, in the pantheon of San Fernando was a beautiful monument in white marble upon the tomb of Benito Juárez.

Social Conditions.—Much of the unrest prevalent in Mexico has been due to social, or perhaps it is better to say, racial, conditions. Immigration from European countries other than Spain affected Mexico little before the Great War. Spanish immigrants remained a notable element in the population. Spaniards often engaged in mercantile pursuits in towns or cities and were frequently viewed with suspicion or dislike by the Mexicans. Of some 15,000,000 inhabitants, persons of European descent constituted perhaps 10 per cent. In the hot, humid regions along the coast were some persons with negro blood in their veins—numerically perhaps an almost negligible factor. A significant element was the aboriginal which was composed of scattered tribes using different dialects or languages. Those Indians—in large part still barbarous—constituted probably from 15 to 25 per cent of the population of Mexico. The remainder, that is to say, from

65 to 75 per cent of the people, belonged to the *mestizo* or mixed class. To a greater extent in Mexico than in some other important states of Latin America those widely dissimilar elements had not been amalgamated into a homogeneous nation. In an interpretative spirit a Mexican journalist has pointed out that the crucial political problem of his country has been to establish a form of government that will suit those different types: the pure-blooded aborigines with what may be termed a fifteenth-century civilization; the mixed classes with, for the most part, an eighteenth-century culture; the educated mixed class fitted for a nineteenth-century government; and the aristocratic Mexicans of Caucasian race, who with the immigrants, desire twentieth-century political institutions.

Mexico's Constitution of 1917.—On January 31, 1917, a Constitutional Convention at Querétaro, which was composed of representaives of the Carranzistas, adopted a new Constitution for the Mexican people. In respect to the framework of government many of the provisions in the Constitution of 1917 were essentially the same as in the charter of 1857. The age of members of the Senate was increased to thirty-five years. Some significant changes were made with regard to the President. His term of office was set at five years; it was stipulated that he could not be reëlected. The Constitution provided that the President must be the son of native-born Mexicans; that he could not be a minister of any faith; that, if he were a military man, he must have retired from active service at least ninety days before the election; and that he must not have taken part, directly or indirectly, in any military uprising or coup d'état. It also provided that a magistrate who might replace the President in case of his temporary or permanent disability should not be elected President for the ensuing term. Among the personal guaranties was an article which stipulated that no Mexican should be compelled to render personal service without due compensation or without his full consent, except as a punishment for crime. Another article provided that every one should be free to worship as he chose.

Articles Directed against Foreigners.—This Constitution contained certain articles which had their origin in socialistic propaganda or in a spirit of reaction against exploitation by foreigners. Article CXXIII provided that workmen engaged in industrial or commercial enterprises should have the right to share in the profits through commissions appointed by local authorities. Strikes might only be considered as lawless when a majority of the workmen engaged therein should resort to acts of violence. Article XXXIII conferred upon the President the right to expel from Mexico without "judicial process" any foreigner whose presence he might deem "inexpedient." Article XXVII provided that churches should not have the right to acquire, hold, or administer real property within the republic. It stated that the ownership of the land and the waters within the republic was originally vested in the Mexican people. It declared that the nation might impose limitations upon private property; and that the necessary measures should be taken to divide large landed estates and to protect small holdings. It affirmed that the title to minerals and other subsoil deposits was vested in the people of Mexico. Further it stipulated that only Mexicans and Mexican companies had the right to acquire concessions to develop mineral fuels in the republic. A foreigner might secure that right only if he renounced the privilege of recourse to his government for redress through diplomatic channels. That the intention of Mexicans was to interpret this article so as to inhibit future concessions of oil rights to foreigners was clear, but the article was ambiguous in so far as it did not state whether or not the intent was to deprive foreign concessionaires of oil rights which they had acquired by law prior to the adoption of the Constitution of 1917.

Mexico's Contention about the Subsoil.—The provisions of that Constitution about the ownership of the subsoil precipitated a discussion concerning the rights of foreign capitalists who had secured control of oil lands. The contention of Carranza appeared to be that laws and decrees issued during the Díaz régime which permitted foreigners purchasing lands in Mexico to acquire titles to

underlying petroleum and minerals were unconstitutional. Foreign corporations, which had by purchase or by contract gained control of valuable oil lands, viewed Article XXVII as the herald of a policy of confiscation.

Carranza's Decree of February 10, 1918.—On February 10, 1918, by virtue of power vested in the treasury department by the Mexican Congress—so ran the decree—Carranza, who had been elected president, issued a decree imposing a tax upon petroleum lands and upon contracts for the exploitation of such lands which had been made before May 1, 1917. Upon the annual rents stipulated in such contracts a graduated tax was assessed which was proportioned to the amount of rent payable per hectare (2.471 acres). Contracts involving a rent of over ten pesos annually per hectare were assessed a tax of ten per cent upon the first five pesos of rental, a tax of twenty per cent upon the next five pesos, and a tax of fifty per cent upon the remainder. All royalties stipulated in oil contracts were assessed fifty per cent. Petroleum deposits that were being exploited by owners of the surface soil were to pay a tax of five pesos per hectare and also a royalty of five per cent of the value of the oil produced. Oil lands that were not leased were assessed five pesos per hectare annually. Such lands not paying a royalty should pay a tax equal to five per cent of the value of the oil produced. Sixty per cent of the revenues accruing from those taxes should belong to the federal government, while the remainder should be divided between the state governments and the municipalities. Any persons or corporations acquiring petroleum contracts by transfer or otherwise, as well as owners of oil lands wishing to exploit them upon their own account, were required to report to the government any sale, lease, or concession. All oil deposits that had not been reported and certified to the department of the treasury within three months should be declared vacant. This comprehensive decree evidently aimed to bring the productive oil industry of Mexico under the control of the federal government.

The Controversy over Oil.—The implication of national ownership of oil deposits which that law conveyed, as

well as the heavy taxes imposed, provoked the oil producers. Citizens of England and the United States appealed to their respective governments for protection against threatened confiscation. The government of the United States informed Mexico that it would not tolerate measures aiming at the confiscation of property rights which its citizens had acquired south of the Río Grande. This was a situation provocative of irritation—national and international. Carranza's decision not to allow foreign corporations to drill fresh oil wells without the payment of a license fee aggravated the difficulty. Further, a tax of some twenty pesos per barrel was levied upon all oil exported from Mexico. Eventually a temporary solution was reached by Carranza who decided to permit foreign corporations to develop their petroleum claims without prejudice to Mexico's contention about the title to the subsoil, provided that they paid the taxes and duties imposed by his government. According to that decision the settlement of the mooted problem of the title to the subsoil was apparently postponed for special consideration by Congress.

Other Complications.—Other complications arose. Although customs receipts increased, yet Carranza's government failed properly to administer the nation's finances. Rumors were circulated about enormous indemnities claimed by foreigners for damages suffered during the bitter and protracted civil wars. International relations were further complicated by the failure of President Carranza to pay interest on the foreign debt.

Mexico's Policy toward the World War.—A most serious complication was caused by the peculiar policy which the President pursued in regard to the World War. Although Mexican officials stated that they were neutral in the struggle, yet their government actually proposed to other American republics a policy which was not in harmony with the attitude of a neutral as defined by the accepted principles of international law; namely, that American states should prohibit the export of munitions to the belligerent nations of Europe. Just before the United States entered the World War, German agents in Mexico

City intrigued with Carranza against that government. They even proposed that Mexico should form an alliance with Japan and undertake to attack those portions of the United States which she had formerly possessed. Certain Mexicans desired that the Central Empires should triumph in the World War. A hope was apparently entertained that a great European nation might thus be enabled to play a rôle in the Three Americas which would check the increasing influence of the United States.

The Presidential Succession.—Fatal in its consequences, however, was Carranza's attempt to control the succession to the presidency. Anxious to perpetuate his régime—if not indeed again to become president—he promoted the candidacy of Ignacio Bonillas, who had served as ambassador to the United States. Other candidates were the popular General González, and Alvaro Obregón, a dashing military leader. Carranza's attitude toward Bonillas furnished the occasion for a revolt which began in the state of Sonora.

The Plan of Agua Prieta.—The programme of the Anti-Carranzistas was formulated at Agua Prieta on April 23, 1920. In the Plan of Agua Prieta the policies of President Carranza were denounced and his administration was repudiated. He was stigmatized as the chief of a party that had mocked the popular will, that had suspended individual guaranties, that had attacked the sovereignty of the states, and that had corrupted and demoralized the national government. Certain state and municipal officials whom he had placed in power were declared to be deposed. The plan also provided for a provisional government. Until the states joining Sonora in the uprising should indicate their desires, the governor of Sonora, Adolfo de la Huerta, was to act as the civil and military chief of the insurrection. The plan also contained a provision stipulating that freedom of suffrage should be observed and declaring that the president of Mexico should not be reëlected. With regard to foreign interests in Mexico, Article XVII of the Plan of Agua Prieta announced that the leaders of the new cause would protect

the legal rights of all foreigners and would favor the development of industry, commerce, and business.

Downfall of Carranza.—The disaffection spread with surprising rapidity in western Mexico. General Gonzáles went over to the insurrectionary camp. He was followed by other Mexicans. General Obregón escaped from the capital city and placed himself at the head of the revolution. Carranza issued a manifesto on May 5 declaring that he would fight to the end and expressing the opinion that no citizen of Mexico ought to become president by the use of the army, by insubordination, or by treason. Scarcely had this manifesto been published when, accompanied by his cabinet, other officials, soldiers, and treasure, the President left Mexico City with the intention of transferring the government by rail to Vera Cruz. His convoy was fiercely attacked by insurgents, however, and he was forced to abandon that plan. While the fugitive magistrate was sleeping in a rude hut in the mountains of Puebla he was assassinated by one of his former followers. Obregón's partisans denounced and disavowed the treacherous deed.

Obregón Becomes President.—Meantime the soldiers of Obregón had entered Mexico City. On May 25, 1920, Adolfo de la Huerta became Acting President. A light vote was cast in the election which resulted in the choice of General Obregón, the candidate of the Liberal Constitutional party, as president. A new party that came forward in opposition to Obregón's candidacy was the National Republican which seemed largely composed of Catholics. This clerical group declared its intention to restore the Constitution of 1857. It also announced its open opposition to the Constitution of 1917, especially to Article XXVII.

Problems Confronting Obregón.—Obregón was inaugurated on December 1, 1920. As members of his cabinet this one-armed President selected able men from different groups of the Constitutionals. His task was Augean: to restore enduring peace to war-ridden Mexico; to reorganize her sadly demoralized finances; to restore

a specie currency; to secure to the lower classes the long-promised agrarian reforms; to master the radical elements that evinced a strong drift toward Bolshevism; to promote elementary education and the upbuilding of national character; to encourage native industry and thrift, while not to discourage the investment of the foreign capital so essential to the development of his country's rich resources; and to adjust the acrimonious and threatening controversy over oil concessions.

Proposed Convention by the United States.—On May 27, 1921, the chargé d'affaires of the United States in Mexico City presented to the Obregón government a communication from Secretary of State Hughes which embodied the views of his government. According to a report published in the *New York Times*, this communication contained the following proposals. The government of Mexico was invited to sign a convention of amity and commerce with the United States. The portion of the convention concerning commercial relations contained little beyond the ordinary clauses concerning the reciprocal rights that should be enjoyed in one country by the citizens of the other. Besides an agreement for the settlement of a boundary dispute, the proposed treaty contained provisions for the creation of a commission for the adjudication of claims of United States citizens for injuries to person and property. Most important of all were stipulations by which the Mexican government bound itself not to interpret retroactively Article XXVII of the Constitution. In other words, the project seems to have contained a pledge upon Mexico's part that in spite of the ambiguity or obscurity of the mooted article she would properly safeguard the property rights which citizens of foreign countries had acquired in Mexico before the Constitutional Convention assembled at Querétaro. The signing of this treaty by the United States would naturally constitute the recognition of the new régime in Mexico.

Attitude of Obregón.—Yet Obregón declined to favor the project, taking shelter behind Article XV of the Constitution, which declared that no treaty should be negotiated by the government that would abridge the constitutional rights and guaranties of individuals and citizens. His idea evidently was

that as an autonomous state Mexico ought not to be required to qualify before being recognized as a member of the family of nations. In the meantime—in the face of the policy pursued by the United States—he cannot negotiate foreign loans to pay the interest upon Mexico's debts. His main recourse evidently is to levy taxes upon petroleum produced from wells sunk by enterprising foreigners.

Summary.—The history of independent Mexico furnishes a strange pageant. For a considerable period after the disruption of Iturbide's Empire the kaleidoscopic changes in Mexican politics were frequently manipulated by Santa Anna. To many Mexicans the successive announcements of new plans for political and constitutional reorganization meant little or nothing. Measures looking toward the disestablishment of the Catholic Church precipitated a civil war which encouraged the interference of Napoleon III. The sympathetic and helpful policy pursued by the United States during the French intervention did not dissipate apprehensions that had been provoked in the minds of Mexicans by her acquisition of Texas, California, and New Mexico. Although the firm rule of Díaz kept Mexico in order and promoted much-needed internal improvements, yet he shamefully neglected the social welfare and the political training of the lower classes. Against domination by a favored clique Madero directed his revolution, but he proved unable to control the weird elements which he had conjured up. The man who seemed most able to cope with the critical situation was Huerta, who failed as a ruler because the United States withheld recognition upon moral grounds. After ten tumultuous years, a man has appeared upon the Mexican stage who enjoys the confidence of a considerable portion of his people and whose régime at present seems to promise more stability than has any other ruler's since 1911. For altogether different reasons, however, than those which prevailed in the case of Huerta, Obregón is not recognized as the head of an autonomous Mexican government by the United States. In his attempt to save the day by taxing his country's natural resources in accordance with a Constitution that contains provisions which run counter to Anglo-Saxon ideas about contractual rights, he has encountered the organized opposition of foreign oil interests. This opposition has enlisted the sup-

port of the United States government which wishes to protect the rights of its citizens that have been so often flagrantly violated south of the Río Grande.

By declining to recognize President Obregón unless he sanctions a treaty containing a pledge of proper conduct by his nation, Secretary Hughes has brought about an *impasse*. Without recognition by world powers Obregón can scarcely borrow money abroad to meet his country's financial obligations, he can hardly promote internal reforms with vigor and he cannot furnish that protection to foreign enterprise without which scarcely any government in distracted Mexico can expect to endure long. A silver lining to the dark cloud that hangs ominously upon the horizon of Mexico is the prospect that perhaps her supreme court may definitively decide that the Constitution of 1917 shall not operate retroactively with regard to property rights acquired by foreigners.

CHAPTER XIX

PROBLEMS AND IDEALS OF THE LATIN-AMERICAN NATIONS

Problems of Latin America.—The nations that developed within the bounds of the former colonial empires of Spain and Portugal have been confronted with some problems that are more or less common. Among those are certain problems connected with the theory and practice of their constitutions. In Latin America relations between Church and State are still of importance. The conception of a legal code which is cherished under the Southern Cross deserves an explanation. Race problems worthy of careful consideration have persisted in Latin America to the present day. Economic and fiscal problems, such as tariff systems and foreign loans, are still pressing Latin-American publicists for adequate solutions. Certain international problems—especially the “Question of the Pacific”—have loomed ominously on the horizon. The rôle which certain Latin-American publicists have from time to time desired that their nations should assume in the New World is also a theme of present interest.

Sources of Early Constitutions.—The proper viewpoint for a consideration of the political ideals and development of the Latin-American nations is that they were launched upon their independent careers with very little political training or experience. Their earliest attempts at political organization were thus often imitative. Some of the first constitutions adopted in Spanish America were patterned after the United States Constitution. This was signally true of the Mexican Constitution of 1824, of the Venezuelan Constitution of 1811, and of the Argentine Constitution of 1853. In some Spanish-American constitutions many traces can be found of French influence. Certain declarations which they contained about the rights and privileges of citizens, although indubitably influenced by constitutions of North America, were also much

affected by French declarations regarding the rights of man. In details of those constitutions there may be detected the impress of colonial customs and Spanish precedents. Occasionally, as in the Bolivian Constitution of 1826, there may be found the relics of ancient political ideals. Some English influence may also be discerned, as in constitutional provisions permitting cabinet members to participate in congressional debates. The sources of the first Constitution of Brazil were mostly European, and largely Portuguese. In the Brazilian Constitution of 1824 scarcely a trace can be found of influence emanating from the North American Republic.

Their Artificiality.—To a citizen of the United States perhaps the most striking feature of the early constitutions of Spanish America was the manner in which they organized the local divisions. According to those constitutions, provinces or intendancies of the colonial régime were frequently dignified with the name or invested with some of the attributes of a state in a federal system. A dominant characteristic of many early Spanish-American constitutions was artificiality. The newly created states could not function as organic parts of the respective systems to which they pertained. The people were given institutions for which they were unripe.

Centralistic and Federalistic Tendencies.—In some nations of Spanish America the trend in the making of constitutions has been away from the North American exemplar and toward a more centralized form. French influence has frequently prevailed rather than the influence of the United States. The Centralistic party has triumphed in many Latin-American countries. If we accept as a criterion the relation between the central government and the main administrative divisions, as shown, for example, in the mode of appointment of the chief magistrate—ordinarily designated the governor—of those divisions, we are forced to the conclusion that only a few of the existing Spanish-American governments are, in any sense of the word, federalistic. In many cases the main administrative division of the state is designated a department or a province; and the chief executive of that area is appointed by the president. Further, in some of those states—as in Colombia—the central government has frequently interfered in the management of the affairs of the provinces or departments.

Even where certain institutions and processes borrowed from the United States or from other countries have been incorporated in the constitutional charter, occasionally those supposed adaptations have proved to be mere fictions. To Spanish-American publicists the United States Constitution has often been little more than an inspiring ideal.

Dictators and Democracy.—To a greater extent perhaps than anywhere else in the world do constitutional provisions in Latin America sometimes exist only on paper. Whatever the character of the constitution of a Spanish-American nation, there has frequently been displayed an irresistible tendency for the chief executive to engross the authority of the state. Spanish-American dictators have not always been benevolent. In certain nations of Latin America the struggle for true democratic government has not yet terminated. "Whatever one might call them," said Viscount Bryce in *Modern Democracies*, "they were certainly not democracies thirty-five years ago, and only two or three could be called by that name now." The constitutional history of some Latin-American nations has indeed frequently been marked by two tendencies: by attempts to embody progressive principles in liberal constitutions; and by flagrant violations of individual rights by despotic dictators. May they all eventually attain the happy mean between a dictatorial government that stifles political liberty and a régime so liberal that an ignorant and untrained populace construes liberty as synonymous with individual license!

Federal Governments.—Several Latin-American nations have constitutions which in certain particulars were modeled after the United States Constitution. Among recent constitutions of that class are those of Cuba and Panama. The nations in which existing constitutions sanction what may be designated federal unions are Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Venezuela. In these nations the local units are either designated states or they are assigned positions comparable to those of states in the United States federal system. In Argentina, as already indicated, the trend has been to treat the subdivisions which were designated provinces rather as administrative divisions than as states. In Venezuela there has been a decided tendency to centralize authority in the national government at

the expense of the states; coupled with this have been influences emanating from France and Switzerland. Of recent years conditions in Mexico have been so disturbed as to make any discussion of the actual nature of her governmental system beside the point.

Brazil.—The nation in which the customs of the Constitution most resemble those in the United States is probably Brazil. As indicated in a preceding chapter, by the revolution of 1889–1890 the Brazilians adopted a Constitution which was closely modeled upon the Constitution of the United States. Although the semi-autonomous provinces of Brazil furnished some basis for state organizations, yet they were far from the stage of development that had been reached by the Thirteen States of North America in 1787. With the Brazilians, customs, precedents, and ideals derived from the motherland have affected the constitutional development of the republic. In Brazil, unlike most Spanish-American nations, there have also been operative influences arising from a monarchical régime established upon the achievement of independence. Even in the Brazilian republic there is a deep chasm between the theory and the practice of the Constitution.

Unique Features of Constitutional Life.—Yet certain features of existing Latin-American constitutions are admirable. Among those are the frequent attempts to define citizenship; its acquisition, privileges, and responsibilities. The status of foreigners residing within a state is often defined in the constitution. Recent constitutions of Mexico and northern South America have contained clauses that would debar foreigners from applying for judicial redress for injuries to any other tribunals than those of the respective republic. Some of the clauses in Latin-American constitutions about the disability or the resignation of the president are not unworthy of study in the United States. Not least suggestive perhaps has been the tendency in certain states to make the cabinet a link that fastens the executive to the legislative department of government. Of this tendency Chile has been the best illustration.

Party Organization and Practice.—Progress in political life has been largely dependent upon economic development. In countries where the natural resources have been developed

the interest in good government has ordinarily been strengthened. The organization of parties in Latin America is more or less in contrast with party organization in the United States. In backward countries, like Ecuador, it has not always been customary for opposing parties even to unite upon their respective presidential candidates. At the other extreme, in a nation like Argentina or Chile, party organization is comparatively complex: there may be found local committees, political conventions, and the formal nomination of candidates—at least for important national offices. Very infrequently, however, have Latin-American political parties clearly formulated their programmes. Even in Argentina at the present day opposing parties are not accustomed to frame platforms containing definite statements of their political views. As in the case of Hipolito Irigoyen in 1916, a presidential candidate may sedulously refrain from making any declaration about his political intentions, or, much more rarely perhaps—as in the case of Ruy Barbosa or Arturo Alessandri—he may boldly intimate what political principles or reforms he intends to champion. Electoral qualifications differ somewhat, both in theory and in practice, in Latin-American states. Where adult manhood suffrage is not assured, there is ordinarily a tendency in that direction; and in certain countries there is talk of woman suffrage. But the ballots are not infrequently influenced by moral suasion, by coercion, or by bribery. Visiting professors from the United States have been unblushingly informed by Chileans how many thousands of pesos an election to Congress has cost a member of the aristocratic coterie seated at Santiago. Especially in remote or backward regions have elections sometimes been nothing more than fierce conflicts between the “ins” and the “outs.” Party struggles have thus often in essence been concerned mainly with personalities or with the spoils of office. Yet the wisest political philosopher of our age has aptly said: “Those who understand what South America had been under the viceroys and what she was when she emerged from the long struggle for independence will not despond of her future.”

Church and State.—Relations between Church and State in Latin-American countries also present a marked contrast with the United States. In almost all of those nations the

earliest constitutions and laws provided that Roman Catholicism should be the religion of the state. Sometimes the public exercise of any other faith was absolutely prohibited. Especially in rural districts, padres or parish priests exerted a great influence upon life and manners. In most Latin-American states, however, a species of *kulturkampf* has taken place in which the Liberal party has been generally more or less victorious. Occasionally that struggle was initiated and waged largely by citizens of the respective state; as for example, by Mosquera's followers in New Granada. At other times or in other states some influence has been exerted through the activities of Protestant sects. Although Protestant missionaries from England and the United States have sometimes provoked antagonism by their proselyting propaganda, yet, on the other hand, at times they have helped to liberalize religious thought and ideals. The Latin-American states which made the longest delay in removing the disabilities under which Protestants labored were Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia. In several Latin-American countries Church and State are still closely connected. Of them, as of England, one may say that there is an established Church. Although ordinarily tithes are no longer levied by ecclesiastical authorities, yet the State provides from her revenues for the support of the imposing machinery of the Church establishment. In certain states of Latin America a tourist may still behold upon feast days a procession led by the chief civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries of the capital city marching into the metropolitan cathedral.

Legal Codes.—Legal codes of Latin America amaze citizens of the United States. Latin-American private law may be said to have its ultimate origins in Roman law. Like their European ancestors, Latin-American publicists have displayed a keen desire to codify their legislation. The chief nations of Latin America have often drawn the inspiration for the condification of their laws from Spanish, or Portuguese, or French sources. In certain particulars the civil code of a Latin-American nation may be considered as a supplement to the existing constitution.

The Chilean Civil Code.—First in point of time and influence among Latin-American legal codes was that of Chile, which was framed after years of study by Andrés Bello. He

selected the material which he incorporated in the Chilean civil code from Roman law, Spanish law, and the Code of Napoleon. In his monumental work Bello gave unity and cohesion to the mass of Spanish legislation which still was in force and incorporated many provisions from foreign codes, especially from the French. An original feature was the provision that foreigners and Chileans should be on a plane of equality. The Chilean civil code was promulgated in 1855 and went into force on January 1, 1857. It was composed of more than twenty-five hundred articles that were arranged in four books: book I was concerned with persons; book II with property; book III with succession; and book IV with obligations. The Chilean code has exerted an influence upon the civil codes of many Spanish-American republics. In Ecuador, Colombia, and Nicaragua it was adopted with modifications. As has been shown in the chapter about Brazil, the civil code of that state was derived largely from Portuguese sources.

Immigration.—A leavening influence has been exerted upon certain nations of Latin America by immigration. Argentina is that Latin-American nation where immigration from Europe has been most marked, and where, in consequence, the need of labor for the development of farms, ranches, and factories has not in recent years been very keenly felt. There public attention was earliest and most emphatically directed to the imperative necessity of encouraging immigration. This was done upon various occasions by Juan Bautista Alberdi, who even baldly said that the chief object of the government in a Latin-American state should be to promote the increase of the population. He reasoned that Argentina should be settled by cultured Europeans, especially by Englishmen. He maintained that in Latin America the natural increase of the population was an imperfect and slow method of upbuilding a state. Let us bring, said he, from abroad the finished products required for the creation of a nation—without a large and a civilized population no great development can take place! After Argentina, Brazil is probably the country which has most striven to bring foreigners to her shores. Immigration from all nations has been uniformly encouraged or permitted, except in Peru and Ecuador where restrictions have recently been placed upon immigrants from China and Japan.

The Structure of Society.—Immigration has tended to differentiate the nations of Latin America. A detailed consideration of Latin-American conditions would presumably show that many significant contrasts exist in the structure of society in different states. Still, certain general tendencies prevail in some regions. Ordinarily the capital cities, like Bogotá, Rio de Janeiro, and Buenos Aires, are the chief social centers of their respective nations. The hegemony of those capitals can scarcely be disputed by cities like Medellín, or São Paulo, or Córdoba. The customs of the Spaniards or of the Portuguese have had a pervasive influence upon Latin-American society. In many regions caste distinctions still exist. Leadership in important cities is generally in the hands of descendants of Portuguese or of Spaniards who constitute an intellectual aristocracy. The social aristocrats of Latin-American capitals are often members of the official bureaucracy—who have occasionally become a more or less permanent class—or wealthy landowners who have retired from their *estancias* or *haciendas* to live in urban centers. Here and there can be detected the influence of another nation than Spain or Portugal upon social customs. English influence can especially be traced—in customs like afternoon teas and horse racing—in Montevideo and Buenos Aires. The German language and German customs prevail in large portions of southern Brazil and southern Chile. Important provincial towns and cities sometimes imitate the manners and customs of metropolitan capitals. In certain countries, notoriously in Bolivia and Chile, the vice of alcoholism cries aloud for wise reform.

The Aboriginal Element.—The aboriginal element in the population is less important numerically in Argentina than in other states. There it is being steadily assimilated by the Caucasian element. In many sections, and especially in remote countries, as Bolivia, the Indians or the mixed classes exert a much greater influence than in urban communities. Even in regions adjacent to interior towns and cities aboriginal languages, customs, and superstitions still prevail. Throughout the vast and more or less unexplored regions of the remote interior are scattered tribes as savage as the head-hunters of the equatorial Andes.

Races and Labor.—A vital issue in Latin America is the problem of races and labor. In most Latin-American countries the population is still very sparse. An extreme example of this is Bolivia, which, with an area of about seven hundred thousand square miles, has only a population of some two and one-half millions. A crying need in most Latin-American countries has been for laborers. That demand has been accentuated because of the inherited disposition that prevails among the white inhabitants in certain regions to view all manual labor with contempt. The abolition by law of negro slavery in Latin-American states has not ordinarily improved the condition of the aboriginal race.

Status of Indian Laborers.—In certain sections of Latin America the entrepreneur of industry, whether native or foreign, has been induced or compelled to employ persons of aboriginal descent to develop estates, to exploit mines, and to gather products of the forests. If we may trust the accounts of observant travelers—confirmed by the scandalous revelations of the Putumayo—the condition of many Indians or persons of Indian descent, especially in remote sections of Latin America, is virtually that of peonage, a status resembling serfdom. It is the servile labor of aborigines that raises the sugar, cotton, tobacco, coffee, cocoa, and other products of the landed estates which, under various names, have often been handed down as a heritage from colonial days.

Lack of Capital.—Coupled with the scarcity of labor in many countries of Latin America, there is a great lack of capital to develop industry. Citizens of Latin-American nations who possess available capital have often been loath to invest it in the industries of their respective countries. Sometimes they have preferred to deposit their money in banks and to draw a high rate of interest rather than to promote the economic life of their own country by investing in national enterprises. This is one reason why European financiers have found an attractive field for investment in certain Latin-American countries.

Currencies of Latin America.—The independent states of Latin America have currency systems that are marked by differences, even among neighbors. At present ten Latin-American nations still retain the peso as their nominal mone-

tary unit. Those nations are Cuba, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Colombia, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina. A general consideration of their monetary systems is rendered difficult from the fact—already noticed with regard to individual states—that some Latin-American nations are still virtually on a basis of silver monometallism. Of those nations which keep the peso as their unit of monetary value, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, and Paraguay still cling to silver as their legal standard. Further, as already suggested in one or two cases, in certain states where a gold coin is the legal standard, occasionally there circulates another token of silver or paper with the identical name which is used as the basis of local exchange—a token that has ordinarily been worth only a fraction of the value of the gold coin bearing the same or a similar designation. A silver or a paper peso is still used in Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and Mexico in domestic transactions. In some states the gold peso is merely a fictitious coin that is used for convenience in international transactions; while in other states, either because of the bad condition of national credit or because of an unfavorable balance of trade, the gold coin which is used as a basis for domestic as well as for international transactions is at a discount in international exchange. Peru has one of the best systems of currency in Latin America: there gold coins may actually be found in circulation. Perhaps the poorest currency of any South American state is that of Paraguay. The great variety of coins that circulate in Latin-American countries and the many, odd fluctuations in their value are serious obstacles to their internal development as well as hindrances to the increase of international trade.

Proposed Reform.—Incidentally the fluctuations in exchange rates occasionally afford opportunities for speculations that may prove either profitable or ruinous. Certain students of currency systems have indeed advocated that all the nations of Latin America should adopt a common monetary standard and should fix upon a common coin as their unit. Such a reform, if it were practicable—which it scarcely seems as yet to be—would be a convenience to foreigners and would facilitate the commercial transactions of Latin-American states with foreign nations; but—unless economic conditions in certain states should be radically altered—it could scarcely prevent

great variations in the value of the same coin in different countries, as measured in international exchange.

Tariff Systems.—The tariff systems of the countries of Latin America possess many similarities. In contrast with the historic policy of the United States, the import duties which are levied by Latin-American nations are primarily for revenue. In so far as the products of Latin-American nations are subjected to imposts they are most frequently taxed upon being exported from the respective countries. Incidentally some attention has been paid to the levy of duties for the protection of domestic industries. Such a tendency has probably been most marked in Chile, although similar tendencies have also been shown in Brazil, Argentina, and Peru. Between a few South American countries treaty arrangements have at one time or another been made for mutual concessions of certain duties laid upon the interchange of goods. Such arrangements are at present in force between Bolivia and Peru and between Paraguay and Argentina. The leading states of South America use a system of valuation upon imports which is really specific in nature. In 1913 every South American nation, except Brazil and Venezuela, secured a part of her revenue by a tax upon exports. During that fiscal year the relative amount of customs revenue accruing from duties imposed upon imports and exports varied from the minimum duty of one-tenth of one per cent in Argentina to more than fifty-eight per cent in Chile, the relatively high per cent in Chile being due to the tax upon the exportation of nitrate.

Revenues from Customs.—Official statistics of Chile show that of her total revenue amounting in 1913 to 220,173,450 gold pesos, 159,259,254 pesos accrued from customs duties of one sort or another. Of that sum 90,128,621 pesos were derived from the export duty upon nitrate. In Venezuela official statistics for the fiscal year 1913-1914 told a similar story: of 65,438,328 bolivares which represented the total national revenue, 49,888,479 were derived from customs duties. Largely because of the lack, as yet, of highly developed manufacturing industries, and because of the opposition to direct taxes as an important source of revenue, a Latin-American state is ordinarily dependent upon her import and

export duties for a large portion of the income that supports the government and that pays the interest on its indebtedness.

Public Debts.—The comparatively small national revenues of Latin-American governments—at least in view of their intense desires to promote costly works of internal improvement—have been partly responsible for the burdensome foreign debts which they have often accumulated. In a state like Argentina, where population and wealth are rapidly increasing, such debts may even be considered as in a sense an asset rather than a liability. Yet, as indicated in a preceding chapter, the finances of the Imperial republic of Brazil have recently been seriously embarrassed because of her heavy and almost unmanageable foreign debt. Further—as will be demonstrated in the following chapter—the payment of foreign claims by Latin-American states have upon several occasions involved certain governments in acrimonious controversies with European nations which threatened forcible intervention.

Transportation.—One of the most serious economic problems that confronts the Latin-American peoples is transportation. Despite the improved steamship service of recent years, and despite the increase in railway mileage, in some states of Latin America the means of intercommunication are still woefully inadequate. Even in Argentina, which has probably the best-articulated system of railways in Latin America, in 1916 it was only possible under favorable circumstances to take a through train from Buenos Aires for Santiago de Chile once per week. In many portions of South America there is a deplorable lack of railroads running from east to west. The regular train between Guayaquil and Quito in 1916 only made the round trip weekly. In certain regions where railroads have been built a broken and mountainous terrain renders the cost of transportation very high. An extreme example of this is the railroad between Callao and Cerro de Pasco. In northern South America there are few railroads of any length. Although the Venezuelan government has partly remedied this condition by promoting the construction of roads, yet those do not fully meet the needs of the situation. Colombia still lacks a railroad from Santa Marta to Bogotá; and, unfortunately—largely because of the irritation caused by the Panama affair—capitalists from the United States have been reluctant to undertake so

costly a project. The vast interior of South America is in large part inaccessible by railroads. By linking together railroad lines already constructed by new lines a so-called Pan-American railroad has been planned. Pan-American congresses have warmly approved the idea but, as yet, this railroad exists partly on paper.

Canals.—As yet little has been done to improve transportation in Latin America by the construction of canals. An interesting suggestion has been made by a Uruguayan writer named Luis Cincinato Bollo; namely, that canals ought to be dug in the interior of South America so as to allow the passage of vessels of large tonnage from Buenos Aires to the mouths of the Amazon and the Orinoco Rivers. Bollo argues that a great commercial route could be constructed by digging two canals: one to connect the navigation of the upper Paraguay River with the river Arinos, a southern branch of the Amazon; and the other to cut the portage Pimichim which separates the headwaters of the Río Negro from the headwaters of the Orinoco River. In this way, he maintains, a water route would be made available through the heart of South America by connecting the navigation of the Plata, Amazon, and Orinoco systems.

Boundary Disputes.—Many topics of interest to students of Latin America have been connected with boundary disputes. For the most part those disputes originated because of the vague character of the grants or delimitations of territory which were made by Spain and Portugal during the colonial régime. As in the case of early English land grants in North America, natural boundaries were inaccurately understood and limitary points were sometimes mentioned which later could not be located. Again, some laws and decrees concerning boundaries were never executed. There were cases in which the grants presumably overlapped. With the exception of endeavors to locate the Spanish-Portuguese boundary line, scarcely any attempts were made to survey the boundaries before the Spanish and Portuguese colonies separated from their respective motherlands. Indeed, so far as the Spanish Indies were concerned, there was little need of such delimitation; for the entire dominions of Spain in America were viewed as one vast estate which should be exploited for the benefit of

the motherland. Again, the actual settlement of the wilderness was so slow that the problem of bounds seldom arose as a practical question, excepting chiefly in respect to the peculiar region in the heart of South America which was set apart for the Empire of the Jesuits. Thus it was that when, upon the attainment of independence, Spanish-American publicists stipulated in their treaties, laws, and constitutions that the limits of a new state should coincide with the limits of the corresponding colonial administrative area—whether it was a viceroyalty, or a captaincy general, or a presidency—they were unwittingly sowing the seeds of future discord.

The Uti Possidetis of 1810.—Although the doctrine that the boundaries of the emancipated nations of Spanish America should ordinarily coincide with the boundaries of the corresponding colonial administrative divisions or subdivisions was not embodied in any general treaty among the new nations, yet its general acceptance as a guiding principle by Latin-American publicists caused it to be designated as the *uti possidetis* of 1810. Advocated by some statesmen partly as a defense against possible claims of territory in America by European powers upon the ground that some of it was *res nullius*, that doctrine became the theoretical basis for the territorial delimitation of the Spanish-American states. However, as that doctrine rested not upon actual surveys of the metes and bounds of those colonial areas, but upon the laws and orders of a government seated in Madrid, it led during the national history of Latin America to a large number of acrimonious boundary disputes. As elsewhere indicated, a most striking feature of those disputes has been the success with which Brazil has urged her claims against her Spanish-American neighbors. This has come about partly because Spain made concessions to Portugal in the eighteenth century and partly because the Brazilians have often reënforced their paper claims by the actual occupation of disputed territory. In general, Latin-American boundary controversies have taken a similar course: acrimonious diplomatic correspondence—which sometimes caused a rupture of diplomatic relations or even armed clashes between the parties—commonly each party insisting upon its extreme claim; the copying in archives of Spain or Portugal of such documents as would best support the conflict-

ing claims; and often the fortunate reference of the dispute to the arbitral services of a neutral power. Perhaps the most pleasing feature of those contentions about territory, which frequently neither of the contending parties vitally needed, was the development of the practice of submitting international disputes to arbitration.

Arbitration in Latin America.—It is scarcely too much to say that in the use of arbitral procedure Latin-American nations have set an example to the world. Colombia had championed the use of arbitration for the adjustment of international disputes even before the battle of Ayacucho. In instructions to Joaquín Mosquera, who was sent as an envoy by Colombia to Peru and Chile in 1822, he was directed to bring to the attention of the governments to which he was accredited the fact that although the states arising in South America had distinct sovereignties, yet they ought to live together as sister nations. On July 6, 1822, Mosquera and Bernardo Monteagudo, the agent of Peru, signed a treaty of perpetual union, league, and confederation. That treaty provided that the exact demarcation of the boundary between Peru and Colombia should be determined by peaceful and conciliatory measures. In a supplementary treaty those diplomats suggested that an assembly of American states should be formed which might serve as an arbitrator in their disputes. Identical provisions were found in treaties that were negotiated contemporaneously by Colombia with Chile and Mexico. The belief in arbitration as a feasible mode of adjusting disputes has been with publicists of Latin America more than an ideal. After 1823 Latin-American states entered into numerous treaties which embodied the arbitral principle in one form or another. Occasionally those treaties provided for the arbitration of boundary disputes. Sometimes they arranged that international claims should be decided by arbitration. Many times they contained clauses providing for the arbitration of general disputes that might arise between the contracting parties. At other times they stipulated that arbitration should be used to adjust controversies about the interpretation of treaties. The rôle of arbitrator in some of those boundary disputes was, by the consent of both parties, assigned to the United States.

The United States as Mediator.—Upon various occasions the United States has also attempted, with more or less success, to mediate in controversies or wars of Latin-American nations. During the war between Spain and certain nations upon the Pacific coast of South America, the United States offered her services as mediator. Through her insistence that dispute was at last amicably adjusted by treaties which were signed long after the hostilities had ended. Yet the United States failed in her policy of mediating in certain disputes which involved the government of Argentina. Similarly she did not succeed in her policy of mediation in the War of the Pacific. It is now clear, however, that the main contention of the United States in that negotiation was not altogether wrong; namely, that Chile ought not to demand from the conquered nations such territorial cessions as a *sine qua non* of peace as would leave them crippled.

The "Question of the Pacific."—The "Question of the Pacific" has often been an apple of discord. That is the problem, or rather the series of problems, which arose from the retention at the end of the War of the Pacific of the Peruvian provinces of Tacna and Arica by victorious Chile. The grievance of Peru is not only that the Chileans have retained the provinces of Tacna and Arica, but further that they have been exploiting the natural resources of those provinces at the expense of Peruvians. The provision in the Treaty of Ancón that at the end of ten years from the date of its ratification a *plébiscite* of the inhabitants of Tacna and Arica was to determine whether the two provinces should remain definitely under the dominion and sovereignty of Chile or whether they should continue a part of Peruvian territory has not been carried out. A special protocol formulating the exact procedure to be followed in taking the referendum had not been adopted by both parties.

Peru's Plea in 1920.—Peru has long considered the lost provinces as her territory under the usurped authority of a foreign power. She has recently altered her position. After the defeat of Germany in the World War, the Peruvian government declared that Chile was violating a treaty which she had imposed by force and that international coöperation was necessary to establish peace and justice in South America. An

aggressive secretary of foreign relations announced in his report to Congress in 1920 that his government desired the reincorporation with Peru of the two irredeemed provinces and also the "revindication" of Tarapacá. The mode by which those results were to be achieved was through the modification of the Treaty of Ancón—the instrument should be the League of Nations.

The Desire of Bolivia.—At times the Question of the Pacific has become a three-cornered dispute. For it has involved the designs and hopes of Bolivian publicists. After the definitive adjustments of the War of the Pacific the only outlets of Bolivia to the sea were either by tributaries of the Amazon, which flowed from her eastern borders to the Atlantic Ocean, or by land through territory which was held by neighboring nations. Against this unenviable situation Bolivia's protests have become louder and louder. Evidently the least concession which will satisfy her is free access to the Pacific Ocean either through her former littoral or through the lost provinces of Peru. In her desire to secure a Pacific port, Bolivia has at certain international crises engaged in negotiations with Chile, while upon other occasions she has sided with her former ally against the victor in the war of 1879-1884.

Attitude of Chile's President in 1921.—There remains to notice the position taken by the new Chilean president. In President Alessandri's message to Congress on June 1, 1921, he asserted that his country had never opposed the execution of the Treaty of Ancón; he said that to-day, as formerly, Chile was disposed to honor her solemn faith as pledged in that treaty; and he announced that his government had determined to settle the Tacna-Arica controversy by permitting the inhabitants of the debatable territory to decide definitively upon their nationality. He said that Chile would thus adjust her conduct to those principles which since the termination of the Great War had brought about the consolidation of European political organizations that during many centuries had lived in uncertainty about their "true national physiognomy." In December, 1921, however, Alberto Salomon, Peru's secretary of state, declined to accept Chile's proposal that a *plébiscite* should be held to decide the fate of Tacna and Arica. Public opinion in Lima apparently considered that the Treaty of Ancón had

lapsed. The reply of the Chilean government was that direct negotiations between the disputants should be concerned simply with the interpretation of Article III of the Treaty of Ancón—a proposal to which Peru would not agree. Early in 1922, however, at the invitation of the United States government, Chile and Peru agreed to send plenipotentiaries to Washington to discuss their differences.

Unsettled Boundary Controversies.—At that juncture a few boundary controversies still persisted. There were some minor disputes about boundaries between the states of Central America. In the controversy between Costa Rica and Panama the United States was supporting the arbitral decision of Justice White. The arbitral decision of the Swiss federal council in the boundary dispute between Venezuela and Colombia was still pending. In regard to a long-standing boundary dispute with Peru, Colombia recently proposed that it should be settled by arbitration. In the heart of the continent, although commissioners of Bolivia and Paraguay have conferred about conflicting claims to territory on the Paraguay River, yet no adjustment had been reached. Probably the most serious of the outstanding boundary disputes—barring the triangular dispute of Bolivia, Chile, and Peru—is that between Peru and Ecuador. The victory of Peru in her contention to prove title to territory which royal orders of the early nineteenth century aimed to transfer from the presidency of Quito to the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical and military authorities located in the viceroyalty of Peru would deprive Ecuador of a triangular-shaped area between the rivers Coca and Napo—an area which has been claimed by Ecuador since 1830, and which has long been considered as forming an integral part of Ecuadorian territory. The loss of all the territory claimed by Peru would reduce Ecuador to a strip of land including only the mountainous plateau and the Pacific coastal plain. In recent years Peruvian publicists have, however, suggested that their nation is not indisposed to an adjustment through concession and compromise.

Early Projects of Spanish-American Federation.—Latin-American leaders have frequently cherished thoughts of forming a union. Even before the wars for independence began, Francisco de Miranda had formed a project for a con-

federation which was to include all the Spanish colonies in America. In 1811 a Chilean revolutionary leader named Juan Egaña drafted a declaration of rights of the Chilean people which proposed the convocation of an international congress of the independent American states that would encourage an American federation. The most suggestive proposals about a union of the revolted colonies of Spanish America were made by that prolific thinker, Simón Bolívar. In a letter addressed on September 6, 1815, to a gentleman of Jamaica who had displayed a keen interest in the Spanish-American Revolution, the Liberator expressed certain views which have been styled prophetic. Bolívar ventured the prophecy that the Spanish dominions in America would ultimately break into several independent states. He believed that differences of conditions in those states would make the establishment of one unified republic impossible but suggested that an international congress should be convoked upon the Isthmus of Panama.

Dreams of Latin-American Union.—Other Latin-American thinkers have favored the idea of an international organization. When the first envoy of Brazil to the United States was received at Washington, he suggested to President Monroe the wisdom of a union of all the independent American nations. Spanish Americans have frequently been content to suggest plans for a federation or a confederation that would not necessarily include Brazil and that would commonly exclude the United States. The founding of "Great Colombia," which was followed by Bolívar's veiled attempt to include other portions of South America within his system, was probably the closest approach to the realization of this ideal. Occasionally proposals of a Latin-American Union have been made because of apprehensions concerning the attitude of the United States or of her citizens toward Latin America. As illustrations of this may serve: Walker's filibustering expeditions to Nicaragua; the war between the United States and Spain; and the separation of Panama from Colombia. Ordinarily, however, such proposals have been evoked by fear of European intervention in America. Because of French intervention in Mexico certain Chilean leaders organized a society which was styled the "American Union": its objects were to sustain the independence and to promote the union of American states. After

Germany, Italy, and England established a blockade of the ports of Venezuela in 1902, a Venezuelan publicist proposed that a conference of delegates from Spanish-American nations should be assembled in Panama to formulate the basis of an association of those nations that would serve as a protection against European aggression.

The Panama Congress.—The most notable indication of the desire of Latin Americans to form an association of nations has been found in their international congresses. Here again we must turn back to Bolívar, who on December 7, 1824, sent from Lima an invitation to Brazil, the United Provinces of la Plata, Chile, Colombia, Central America, and Mexico to send delegates to a Congress on the Isthmus of Panama. The Liberator proposed that this Congress should serve the Spanish-American nations as a council in great danger, as an interpreter of treaties, and as an umpire and conciliator in case of controversies. The meetings of the Panama Congress, which were attended only by delegates from four Spanish-American nations, occurred in June and July, 1826. Those delegates framed some conventions about the projected Spanish-American confederation but the states which were represented at Panama did not ratify them. Still, this congress was significant because it was the first of a series of international American conferences that served to formulate the ideas of Spanish-American publicists about inter-American relations.

Other International Congresses.—On December 11, 1847, a Congress of delegates from Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, New Granada, and Peru met at Lima. That Congress also adopted a number of treaties concerning the relations of American states. Among those was a treaty of confederation which provided that the contracting states would mutually sustain by force their independence, integrity, and sovereignty. Only one of the treaties, however, was ever ratified by any of the contracting republics. On January 23, 1865, a Congress of delegates from Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Salvador, and Venezuela, who had gathered at Lima, signed a treaty of "union and alliance" by which they mutually guaranteed their independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity against aggression. At the so-called "Bolivian Congress"—composed of representatives of nations that had been liberated largely

through the efforts of Bolívar—which met at Caracas in 1911, delegates of Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia, and Venezuela discussed various matters of common interest. Among other measures they adopted a resolution pledging their respective states mutually to concede in return for reciprocal concessions any commercial advantage that they might grant separately to any one of the five nations. The delegates also agreed that their respective nations would promote the adoption of uniform customs regulations. Although the treaties which proposed a union, alliance, or confederation of Spanish-American nations had no practical results, yet they kept alive the ideal of Bolívar and encouraged Latin-American peoples to think in continental terms.

Scientific Congresses.—At a later period this spirit was expressed not only in Pan-Americanism—as will be shown in the following chapter—but also in various congresses which were held by Latin Americans. In the domain of science the Argentine government led the way by the invitation which it issued to scientists from Latin-American countries to assemble in Buenos Aires in order to celebrate the anniversary of the founding of the Argentine Scientific Society. In response to that invitation, in April, 1898, scholars from various Latin-American countries assembled in the First Latin-American Scientific Congress at Buenos Aires to discuss scientific and economic questions. A second Congress of this type gathered in Montevideo in March, 1901; and a third Congress met at Rio de Janeiro in August, 1905. Not only was the discussion of topics in mathematics, physical science, and the social sciences profitable to Latin Americans but the movement for such congresses redounded to the advantage of all America. At the meeting in Rio de Janeiro the momentous decision was reached to transform the Latin-American scientific congresses into Pan-American gatherings.

Relations of Argentina, Chile, and Brazil.—In truth the closest approximation toward the illusory ideal of a Latin-American union or confederation has been the rapprochement of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. The association of those three powers, indubitably the strongest economically and politically in South America, was no chance grouping. With the adjustment of the dispute about their Andean boundary, Chile and

Argentina felt the strengthening of bonds that had existed since 1817. At the other extremity of Latin America from that over which the United States has been extending her hegemony, the publicists of Argentina, in particular, have believed that the nations of southern South America ought to form an association which might serve to counterbalance the influence of the Anglo-Saxon Republic. Into this group Argentina and Chile were naturally inclined to admit Brazil because she possessed the most extensive territory of any Latin-American nation. In September, 1910, the Argentine secretary of foreign relations referred to the fraternity existing between Chile, Argentina, and Brazil, and declared that they as the three strongest states of South America should direct the other nations of that continent upon the path of progress. Other countries, he declared, would see in the friendship between those powers a strong guaranty for peace.

The A B C Treaty.—An inspiration to the formation of a tripartite treaty was apparently the negotiation by Secretary of State Bryan of a series of peace treaties with the nations of America. At Buenos Aires, on May 25, 1915, the secretaries of foreign relations of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile signed a treaty which gave a definite basis to the tripartite understanding. The A B C treaty stipulated that whatever controversies might in the future originate among the contracting parties, or between two of them, which could neither be settled by diplomatic means nor adjusted by arbitration in accordance with other treaties, should be submitted to investigation by a permanent commission. That commission should be composed of one person representing each of the contracting parties. The disputants were to furnish the data necessary for the investigation. The contracting parties bound themselves not to commit any hostile acts until the commission had made its report or until one year had elapsed. The dominant idea was that the lapse of time would render an armed conflict between disputants unlikely. To judge by a speech of the Brazilian minister of foreign relations, he was inspired by the thought that friendly intervention might prevent conflicts between the republics of America. In a message of President de la Plaza

to Congress he declared that the treaty was the culmination of large diplomatic labors which tended to cement firmly the friendship of the three nations whose combined strength was a guaranty of the tranquillity and progress of a large portion of America. The tripartite treaty was thus evidently intended to prevent wars among Latin-American states and to shield them against foreign attacks. This treaty, however, remained an aspiration; for it was not ratified by all of the contracting parties.

Foreign Perils.—Foreign perils have been to Latin America a great bugaboo. During the wars for independence many Spanish-American publicists feared—without reason, as it now appears—that the association of European powers known as the Holy Alliance might intervene to repress the revolutionary movements and to restore the dominion of Spain over her revolted colonies in America. Fears of the intervention of other European powers which would destroy the autonomy of Spanish-American nations were entertained in Argentina during the reign of Dictator Rosas, in Peru at the time of the dispute with Spain that was precipitated by the Talambo affair, and in Mexico and Venezuela when European nations threatened permanently to occupy their territory. More recently, fear of European aggression was apprehended in certain sections of Latin America because of the colonizing and commercial enterprise of Germany. That part of southern Brazil which was settled by Germans was considered by some patriotic Brazilians as a menace to the independence and autonomy of their nation. In a speech which he made before the College of Law and Social Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires in August, 1916, Ruy Barbosa eloquently voiced the conviction that if Germany should be victorious in the World War, she would defy the United States and boldly seize a portion of South America. A brilliant Peruvian writer has voiced the opinion that, because of the aggressiveness of the Japanese, the Empire of the Rising Sun was a menace to the autonomy of Latin-American nations. In the minds of some citizens of Latin America, however, the greatest foreign peril which their nations face is presented by the United States—the Colossus of the North.

CHAPTER XX

RELATIONS OF LATIN-AMERICAN NATIONS WITH OTHER STATES

Purpose of this Chapter.—There remains to consider relations that have been formed between the family of Latin-American nations and other states. Although the United States has in some respects lagged behind certain European countries in the cultivation of intercourse with Latin America, yet during recent decades her people have displayed an increasing interest in the history, the politics, and the destinies of those nations that occupy the southern portion of the New World. After a consideration of the interest displayed by certain European nations in Latin America, the major portion of this chapter will accordingly be devoted to a discussion of various phases of inter-American relationships. By these are meant the Doctrine of Monroe, the growing commercial and industrial relations between the United States and Latin-American nations, and the educational influence as well as the scientific investigations of United States citizens in Latin-American countries. A description of the inception and development of the Pan-American sentiment may not be omitted, nor a consideration of the influence exerted by the World War upon American comity. Lastly, we shall make an inquiry concerning the possible effects of the formation of the League of Nations upon the relations of American states.

Relations of Portugal with Brazil.—On the whole it may safely be said that Portugal has kept in closer touch with Brazil than Spain has with Spanish America. A current of emigration from Portugal to Brazil has flowed more or less constantly from 1808 to the present day. Many merchants in important Brazilian towns and cities are either Portuguese or of Portuguese descent. The commercial relations maintained between Brazil and Portugal are not inconsiderable. In 1905 Brazil imported from Portugal goods amounting to some

34,000,000 milreis; in 1913 Portuguese imports into Brazil amounted to some 44,000,000 milreis.

Of Spain with Spanish America.—The protracted struggles for independence and the long delay of the motherland in recognizing the independent status of her former colonies hindered the development of commercial relations between Spain and the nations of Spanish America. Although Spanish emigrants have proceeded in considerable numbers to Spanish-American countries, as to Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, yet Spanish civilization is not so pervasive or so dominant as one might suppose. Prominent merchants in cities of Spanish America are often Spaniards, frequently Basques or Catalonians, and leaders of the intellectual coteries boast of their Spanish ancestors, but the presence of a large aboriginal element and the currents of immigration from other countries than Spain tend to lessen Castilian influence. In recent decades, however, Spanish publicists and scholars have made attempts, and with some degree of success, to cultivate the sympathy and goodwill of Spanish-American nations. Those attempts have aimed to cultivate in Spain an intellectual interest in Spanish America and to promote the development of commercial relations between Spain and the American nations that speak the language of Cervantes.

France and Latin America.—Other Romance nations than Spain and Portugal have exercised an influence upon the Latin nations of the New World. A stream of Italian immigration that has gone chiefly to eastern and southern South America has in recent decades had an appreciable influence upon Latin-American society. It is probably safe to assert, however, that the foreigners who are in general most admired in the intellectual circles of Latin America are the French. This is not because the French have of late displayed any intense desire to emigrate to Latin-American countries. It is not because they have invested millions of francs in the industries of Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina. Nor is it because certain French manufactures, as automobiles, are by some Latin Americans most highly esteemed. It is rather because of the homage which thinkers and students of certain Latin-American nations render the French genius and because a feeling is commonly entertained that France and her people have

more intellectual sympathy for Latin America and for Latin Americans than almost any other people. In some quarters indeed there is a sentiment that France is more *en rapport* with Latin America than even Spain or Portugal. Certain Spanish Americans simply worship the French intellect. In recent decades this tendency has been stimulated by the formation in France of organizations for the encouragement of close relations with Latin America. Gallic interest in the Latin nations of the New World has been stimulated by the presence in Paris of distinguished and erudite Latin-American diplomats. In 1910 a chair for the study of Brazilian history and culture was founded at the University of Paris.

French Scientific Expeditions to South America.—Another proof of the deep interest of France in Latin America is found in the scientific expeditions which Frenchmen have made to South America. Those notable expeditions were initiated by the trip of Jean B. Boussingault, a chemist and meteorologist, who from 1825 to 1831 explored portions of Bolivia and northern Peru. Important contributions to geographical knowledge were made by a naturalist named Alcide d'Orbigny who, after visiting the basin of la Plata River, from 1830 to 1833, studied the geography of the central Pacific coast of South America and also of Bolivia. In 1845, by order of the government of France, Count Castelnau led a scientific expedition into the central portion of South America, explored certain plateaus and cordilleras of Bolivia and Peru, and then boldly descended the Amazon River to the ocean. In 1876 and the following years a lieutenant of the French navy named Jules Crevaux made geological researches near the Oyapoc River on the northeastern boundary of Brazil, surmounted the Tumuc Humac Mountains, and reached the Amazon. After 1879 he devoted his energies to the exploration of two northern tributaries of the Amazon, the Ica and the Yapurá. Next he ascended the Magdalena River, climbed the Colombian cordilleras, and proceeded down the Guaviare River into the Orinoco.

Commercial Interest of England in Latin America.—The interest of England in Latin America dates from the beginnings of her commercial relations with Panama, the Spanish Main, and the estuary of la Plata River. After

designs entertained by some of her officials for colonial expansion in the last-mentioned region had been rendered futile largely by governmental ineptitude, a number of daring Englishmen enlisted under the patriot standards in Spanish America. Those who served under Bolívar in northern South America won an enviable reputation for the "British Legion." It was during this epoch that London bankers began to advance money to the governments of the new states. After the independence of the Latin-American nations was recognized, the English undertook to induce certain Latin-American countries to buy goods manufactured at Manchester, or Sheffield, or Birmingham. As the years passed adaptable commercial agents from London began to skirt the coasts and to sail up the great rivers of South America. English banks were eventually planted in certain South American capitals. By the opening of the present century millions of pounds sterling had been invested by Englishmen in South America and Mexico. Although in recent decades some Englishmen have settled upon sheep ranches in Patagonia, yet nowhere did men of English birth plant "colonies" like those of Germany in southern Brazil. In certain countries of South America, especially in Chile, Englishmen married into prominent families: there family names still attest the mingling of English and Spanish-American blood. English bankers, merchants, and commercial practices became dominant factors in many sections of Latin America. Until the outbreak of the Great War, international exchange in South America was ordinarily reckoned in English pounds.

English Missionary Enterprises.—After the struggles for the independence of Spanish America had terminated the English people began to develop an interest in the conversion of the aborigines of South America. The earliest deliberate attempt of Anglican missionaries to spread Protestant beliefs in South America was made among the rude Indians of Patagonia. About 1844 the Patagonian Missionary Society was founded in England, an organization that was later known as the South American Missionary Society. In time the interest of English Protestants in the evangelization of South America widened and Anglican missionaries were sent to convert the Araucanian Indians and the barbarous aborigines of the Chaco.

Anglican chapels were built in many towns and cities throughout Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. More recently the labors of English missionaries in South America have been reënforced and supplemented by the activities of certain missionary societies of Canada. The Canadian Baptist Mission Board has developed a special interest in Bolivia.

English Scientific Interest.—In a sense English scientific interest in Latin America may be said to have originated with Lord Kingsborough. His curious notion that the Aztecs were descendants of the lost tribes of Israel impelled him to make a collection of material upon that theme in his "Antiquities of Mexico," which has served as a mine of information for all succeeding students of pre-Columbian Mexico. Among a formidable list of naturalists who have explored the wildernesses of South America the name of Charles Darwin is preëminent. He left England in the ship "Beagle" on December 27, 1831, and visited the southern and western portions of South America. His studies of man and nature in such widely separated regions as Tierra del Fuego and the Galápagos Islands unquestionably had an influence upon the formulation of his scientific theories. Another noteworthy trip was that made by Henry Bates and A. R. Wallace who in April, 1848, left England upon a joint expedition to investigate the natural history of the Amazon basin. After spending some four years traversing in a canoe the tributaries of the Amazon River, Wallace unfortunately lost his collection of specimens of South American fauna by the shipwreck of the vessel in which he was returning home. His companion, Bates, lived in the Amazonian wilderness seven years longer and then brought safely to England a magnificent collection of specimens of South American fishes, birds, insects, and butterflies. Darwin estimated that this collection contained representatives of some eight thousand species "that were previously unknown to science." An English botanist named Richard Spruce spent fifteen years wandering over the mountains and through the forests of northern South America, leaving his manuscript notes to be edited by the intelligent and sympathetic hands of Wallace. Among Englishmen who have scaled mountain peaks and made travels in South America the most distinguished is Viscount Bryce, whose illuminating and inter-

pretative "Observations and Impressions" have served to spread a knowledge of Latin America among English-speaking peoples.

Germany and Latin-American Nations.—Germany's interest in Latin-American countries may be traced back to the age of Emperor Charles V, when Germans settled in present Venezuela. In the nineteenth century streams of immigrants proceeded from Germany to Brazil and Chile. Some Germans were, in course of time, scattered through other Latin-American countries, but nowhere else did they plant such settlements as in Chile and Brazil. There they preserved the German language and German culture; the ties connecting settlers with the *Vaterland* were so sedulously preserved that the towns were called "German colonies." Such settlements might in any strict sense of the term only be termed colonies in so far as certain Germans presumably took advantage of a law which provided that they could retain their German citizenship even though they swore allegiance to the land of their adoption. As the years passed, however, those Germans tended to become assimilated in the mass of the population. The most striking exception to this was southern Brazil. There the persistence of German customs and a sympathy with German ideals caused grave apprehension to the Brazilian government after the outbreak of the World War. In other sections of South America than Brazil and Chile, the Germans have been mainly interested in the promotion of trade between the new nations and Germany. They established German banks, acted as commercial agents, and furnished Latin-American merchants with long terms of credit. During the Great War in several Latin-American nations Germans published newspapers that were used as vehicles of propaganda for the Central Empires. Whatever dreams of a Teutonic Empire under the Southern Cross may have been cherished by Germans were shattered by the Allies upon the battlefields of France.

German Scientists in Latin America.—The beginnings of the scientific interest of Germans in Latin America date from the famous trip of Alexander von Humboldt who visited Cuba, Mexico, and northern South America near the end of the colonial régime. Prince Adelbert of Prussia in 1840 explored the Xingu River in Brazil for some distance

from its mouth. More than forty years elapsed before Karl von den Steinen with other Germans descended the Xingu from its headwaters and disembarked at Pará. In 1850 Hermann Burmeister left his professorship of zoölogy at the University of Halle and traveled for two years mainly in Brazil. Some years afterwards he crossed the Argentine pampas, scaled the cordilleras, and later returned from Chile to Argentina where he became professor of natural history at the University of Córdoba. Other German scholars soon emulated his example. During the last decade of the nineteenth century Hans Steffen and other Germans made a series of remarkable exploring trips in the lake region of the southern Argentine-Chilean cordillera. Wilhelm Weis and Alphons Stübel prosecuted geological investigations in the Colombian cordilleras. From Colombia they crossed the frontier into Ecuador where they made similar studies. In 1875 they carried on important researches in the aboriginal acropolis of Ancón and explored northern Peru. Stübel also visited western Bolivia in the neighborhood of Mt. Illimani. In 1892 Theodor Wolf published a most instructive volume about Ecuadorian geology which was based upon his own patient research. An outstanding figure among German explorers of Central America was Karl Sappers who traversed that region from Guatemala to Costa Rica.

Occasion for the Monroe Doctrine.—Of special significance in the relations of the Latin-American states with other nations has been the doctrine which was formulated by James Monroe. That doctrine was promulgated at a juncture when the United States was apprehensive of the encroachments of Russia upon the western coast of North America, and when—in common with rising states of Latin America—she viewed the association of European powers known as the Holy Alliance as a menace against the independence and integrity of American nations. Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France had, in accordance with a secret treaty signed at Verona, just subverted the constitutional government of Spain and restored Ferdinand VII to absolute power. American publicists feared that the Holy Alliance, which had authorized French soldiers to intervene in Spain, might send an expedition to subjugate the rising nations of Spanish America.

Its Principles.—In his message of December 2, 1823, after referring to the threat of Russian encroachments, the President declared that America should no longer be open to colonization by European powers. After mentioning the menace of the Holy Alliance, Monroe announced that his government could only view the intervention of a European power in America as the proof of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. Incidentally he said that it was the policy of his government not to meddle in European politics.

Reception by Latin Americans.—The declarations aimed against European colonization or interposition in America were hailed by South American publicists with delight. One or the other of the two essential principles of the Monroe Doctrine was acceptable to such statesmen as Bolívar, Santander, and Rivadavia. Some journalists of South America warmly praised the policy of the United States that had made herself the sponsor of new nations. Although the President apparently did not have Brazil in mind when he composed his famous message, yet Carvalho e Mello, the Brazilian minister of foreign relations, was the first Latin-American statesman to give his official sanction to the Monroe Doctrine.

Appreciations of the Monroe Doctrine.—A favorable attitude was also taken by Latin-American publicists upon later occasions when the ægis of the United States was felt to be necessary against the menace of European interference or when such menace had actually been translated into action. The protests of Secretary Seward against the establishment of an exotic monarchy in Mexico, which influenced the French government to withdraw its soldiers, induced President Díaz to declare that he was a partisan of the Monroe Doctrine. When a crisis was reached in the boundary controversy between England and Venezuela about Guiana, Venezuelan statesmen and journalists appealed to the United States in the name of the Monroe Doctrine to prevent England from extending her dominions in South America at Venezuela's expense. The aggressive policy which was then adopted by President Cleveland evoked favorable appreciations of the Monroe Doctrine in Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, Central

America, and Mexico. When Germany, Italy, and England in 1902 tried forcibly to coerce Venezuela to pay certain exorbitant claims and threatened to establish a warlike blockade of her coasts, certain Venezuelan publicists viewed that policy as an attempt of the Kaiser to test the efficacy of the Doctrine of Monroe. After the acrimonious dispute was adjusted, President Castro expressed his warm appreciation of the success of the United States in compelling the creditor nations to agree to a peaceful mode of adjusting the financial dispute. The Argentine publicist Roque Sáenz Peña, however, declared that the Monroe Doctrine had become an india-rubber doctrine.

The Calvo and the Drago Doctrines.—Attempts of European powers to collect by force debts from Venezuela, and also Roosevelt's statements that the coercion of a Latin-American state was not contrary to the Monroe Doctrine provided that such punishment did not result in the acquisition of territory by a non-American power, evoked a significant response from Argentina's secretary of foreign affairs, Luis M. Drago. As the view which he then expressed was largely a re-statement of the Calvo Doctrine, that doctrine should first be described. Many years earlier Carlos Calvo, a noted Argentine publicist, had in his work on international law declared that the recovery of debts and the collection of private claims did not justify armed intervention by governments. He also denied the responsibility of states for injuries that had been suffered by aliens during internal dissensions or revolts. Calvo accordingly protested against the use of force by European nations to collect private claims or debts in Latin America. On December 29, 1902, in a note to Martín García Mérou, the Argentine minister in Washington, Secretary Drago enunciated his doctrine. In forcible words he argued that proceedings for the collection of debts could not rightly be undertaken against a sovereign state. He insisted that the public debt of a Latin-American state could justify neither "armed intervention" nor even the actual occupation of the territory of American nations by a European power." Drago's note was thus a protest of the Argentine government against forcible intervention by European powers to collect debts that had been incurred by a Latin-American nation.

Influence of the Drago Doctrine.—That note was not without some influence upon the theory and practice of the United States with regard to the collection of debts by European nations in America. On December 5, 1905, in a message to Congress, President Roosevelt took the view that attempts of foreign nations forcibly to collect debts from Latin-American republics might embarrass the United States; for such attempts might result in the permanent acquisition of territory in America by foreign nations. In his message to Congress a year earlier, Roosevelt had declared that "chronic wrong-doing" or a "loosening of the ties of civilized society" might force the United States to exercise "an international police power" in the New World. This interpretation of the historic rôle of the United States became known as the "Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine."

American Nations at The Hague.—It is noteworthy that the United States and certain nations of Latin America exerted a significant influence upon the proceedings of the Second Peace Conference at The Hague. In 1907 delegates appeared at The Hague from all the important nations of America. General Porter of the United States presented to the Second Peace Conference a proposal that when contractual debts were owing from a certain nation to citizens of another state, the nations represented at The Hague Conference would agree not to use "armed force for the collection of such contractual debts." This stipulation should not be operative, however, when the debtor nation refused to arbitrate, or neglected to fulfill an arbitral decision, or rendered a compromise impossible. The principle of a prohibition upon the use of armed force which was embodied in the Porter proposition was approved by a large number of delegates. Eventually the conference approved the Porter proposition. By the action of the United States and some Spanish-American nations the Second Hague Conference thus formally disapproved of the use of armed force to collect certain contractual debts.

Applications of the Roosevelt Corollary.—The application of the Roosevelt Corollary to controversies arising between Latin-American states and creditor European nations because of debts has led to significant results. As indicated

in a preceding chapter, that corollary was first applied to the bankrupt Dominican Republic, and then, in a modified form, to Nicaragua. Although the administrative and fiscal results of such intervention by the United States in the affairs of her Latin-American neighbors have been; in the main, good, yet a policy which in the West Indies has culminated in naval and military occupation of disturbed republics has provoked much criticism of the United States.

Latin-American Criticism: "The American Illusion."—It will be appropriate, therefore, to devote some attention to animadversions upon the Monroe Doctrine by Latin Americans. A classic criticism of the Doctrine—though little known in the United States—was an attack upon her policy which was made in 1893 by an erudite resident of São Paulo named Eduardo Prado. In a work entitled *A Ilusão Americana* that author published so bitter an attack upon the policy of the United States toward her Latin-American neighbors that his book was suppressed by the Brazilian government. A second edition of "The American Illusion" was printed at Paris in 1895; and in 1902 a third edition was published at São Paulo. Prado argued that Monroe's words about European intervention in America were Platonic. This he proved to his own satisfaction by a consideration of proceedings of the United States that were indicative of her policy toward Latin America but which frequently had little or no relation to the Monroe Doctrine. Among the acts which he surveyed was the recognition by the United States of King Miguel of Portugal in 1830, the acknowledgment of Texan independence by the United States, and her war with Mexico. He expressed the conviction that the United States was neither sympathetically nor helpfully inclined toward Latin America; hence he argued that Brazil should follow a policy of her own. In reality Prado unwittingly struck the keynote of many later criticisms of the Monroe Doctrine both in the United States and in Latin America: he confused the Monroe Doctrine with a policy which the United States had at one time or another pursued toward Latin America!

Another Unfair Criticism.—After the United States had begun the war with Spain, Alberto del Solar—a Chilean writer who resided in Argentina—taking his inspiration

partly from that event and partly from Prado's diatribe, delivered an address in which he attacked the Doctrine of Monroe. Del Solar's remarks were illustrated by incidents which were almost as inappropriate as those selected by Prado. By an examination of the policy of the United States toward Latin-American republics he essayed to show that her protestations of friendship and sympathy were hollow. These two illustrations may serve to point the moral; namely, that Latin Americans have sometimes directed attacks against measures of the United States which could be scarcely considered as applications of the Monroe Doctrine.

Other Criticisms of United States Policy.—It is undoubtedly true that Latin Americans have made adverse criticisms of the policy of the United States which would be accepted as just by some students of international relations. Forgetting that England had never clearly relinquished her claim, Argentine writers have insistently asserted that the seizure of the Falkland Islands by England was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine for which the United States was responsible. From time to time bitter criticisms have been made of the Great Republic of the North because by successive annexations she has added to her dominions much territory which was at one time controlled either by Spain or Mexico. The measures by which the United States acquired the right to dig the canal across the Isthmus of Panama had a bad influence upon the peoples of Latin America. Roosevelt's phrase, "I took the Isthmus," was echoed and reëchoed throughout the Latin-American world. Conditions in Mexico, which at times have invited intervention to secure the establishment of a régime of peace and progress, have aroused the apprehensions of certain Latin Americans who believe that the interposition of the United States in that disturbed country will almost inevitably lead to annexation. In general, criticisms of the United States have often been made because fear was entertained of the increasing power of the Anglo-American Republic.

Of the Monroe Doctrine.—Unfavorable criticisms of Latin-American journalists and publicists have often been directed to applications of the Monroe Doctrine that have been made in accordance with the Roosevelt Corollary. Against

the policy of intervention which the United States government has followed in the West Indies and in Central America the voices of Latin Americans have been raised in eloquent protest. When he heard that Woodrow Wilson was soon to be inaugurated President of the United States, an Argentine litterateur named Manuel Ugarte addressed a public letter to the American President and implored him to reverse the foreign policy of his government that was transforming portions of Latin America into new Moroccos and new Egypts. In an article about the Monroe Doctrine, Manoel de Oliveira Lima, a Brazilian ex-diplomat who warmly admires the United States, rightly declared that Latin-American peoples might be excused for tremors of apprehension about the foreign policy of a giant nation that had extended her influence over the West Indies and Central America.

Commercial Relations between the United States and Latin America.—Trade between the United States and Latin America had its origins in the intercourse of the Thirteen Colonies with the Spanish Indies. Soon after the Constitution of the United States was adopted Yankee sloops were taking fish and flour to the Spanish West Indies to exchange for spirits and molasses. During the first decade of the nineteenth century vessels from the United States undertook to trade with ports in South America. Treaties of commerce were soon negotiated between the United States and certain Latin-American nations. A few statistics will indicate the drift of inter-American commercial relations during the nineteenth century. In the year ending June 30, 1850, imports into the United States from Latin-American countries amounted to \$16,676,669, while exports from the United States to Latin-American countries aggregated \$9,117,796. Partly because of the Civil War in the United States and partly because of keener competition from European nations, during the period from 1850 to 1875 the exports of the United States to Latin-American countries relatively declined, while the imports from those countries to the United States continued to increase. In the year ending September 30, 1875, the total imports into the United States from Latin-American nations amounted to \$79,291,858, while United States exports



MAP SHOWING TERRITORIES ACQUIRED BY THE UNITED STATES
"The History of the United States"

to those nations aggregated \$28,627,909. The succeeding quarter of a century was marked by a considerable relative increase in the exports of the United States to Latin-American countries.

Basis of Commercial Interchange.—The basis of commercial intercourse between the United States and Latin America has been chiefly the fact that the products of those sections to a large extent supplement each other. Coffee, cocoa, bananas, rubber, lumber, hides, wool, and various minerals are sent from Latin-American countries to the United States; while that nation exports to Latin America agricultural implements, machinery, boots and shoes, cotton and woolen goods, flour, and furniture.

Attempts at Reciprocity.—The great differences between the chief exports of the United States and those of Latin-American countries led some publicists to believe at one time or another that reciprocity might promote their commercial interchange. Through the influence of Secretary of State James G. Blaine the McKinley Tariff Act of October 1, 1890, contained a section which aimed to encourage reciprocity between the United States and countries that produced sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides. This section provided that on and after January 1, 1892, the President might suspend the provisions of the act concerning the free introduction of such articles into the United States whenever he judged that the duties imposed upon products of the United States by nations exporting the enumerated articles were "reciprocally unjust or unequal." It virtually empowered the President to make commercial arrangements with certain countries. Secretary Blaine accordingly negotiated reciprocity agreements with Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala. On the other hand, the President suspended the free introduction into the United States of the enumerated articles from Colombia and Venezuela because those nations levied duties upon imports from the United States that were reciprocally unequal. All of the reciprocity agreements that were negotiated under the McKinley Tariff Act were terminated by the Wilson Tariff of 1894. A reciprocity arrangement framed between the United States and Cuba in 1903 which

allowed Cuban sugar to enter the United States at twenty per cent of the existing rates much encouraged trade between those countries.

Although manufacturers and exporters in the United States have not always shown the greatest adaptability in their methods, yet nothing could stop the growth of commerce between the United States and Latin America. In the year ending June 30, 1913, the exports of the United States to Latin-American countries amounted to \$314,278,949, while the imports from those countries into the United States aggregated \$440,531,463. The opening to traffic of the Panama Canal on August 15, 1914, undoubtedly gave a stimulus to commerce between the United States and certain Latin-American countries.

Industrial Activities of the United States in Latin America.—Citizens of the United States have influenced the industrial development of Latin-American countries in manifold ways. Here a few striking illustrations must suffice. The Central and South American Telegraph Company, which was founded by James A. Scrymser of New York City, laid submarine cables from the United States, via Vera Cruz and Panama, to Callao and Valparaiso. Aside from the exploitation of petroleum wells by corporations of the United States, through the influence of her citizens such public utilities as sewers and street cars have been introduced into certain cities of Mexico. A corporation of the United States is exploiting a huge asphalt lake in Venezuela. Oil prospectors from the United States are drilling wells in northern Venezuela and Colombia. Machinery made in the United States has been set up in Peruvian and Brazilian sugar mills. In the basin of la Plata River corporations of the United States have erected huge meat packing establishments. At Chuquicamata, near Antofagasta, members of the Guggenheim family secured extensive properties containing low-grade copper deposits. There they established a unique plant for the extraction of copper from the ore by an electrolytic process. They built at Chuquicamata a mining town for their Chilean workmen and also a clubhouse for their engineers from the United States. In 1917 that plant produced some forty-four thousand tons of copper. The prince of railway contractors in

South America was a United States citizen named Henry Meiggs. To crown difficult enterprises in Chile and Peru, he planned and partly constructed a railway from Callao to Cerro de Pasco—a veritable railway among the clouds.

Educational Influence of the United States.—In various ways the United States has exercised an influence upon public instruction in Latin-American countries. Through his study and residence in the United States, Domingo F. Sarmiento became imbued with her educational ideals. In consequence he initiated a reform of the educational systems of Chile and Argentina, especially by the establishment of normal schools. Other South American publicists may be said to have followed in Sarmiento's footsteps. During the present century the Peruvian government has undertaken to reform and to reorganize its system of public instruction by the employment of educators from the United States. In connection with the missions and churches which Protestant sects from the United States have planted throughout Latin-American countries, they have established day schools and night schools and occasionally technical institutes. At various points they have also founded academies, seminaries, and colleges. Since 1824 an increasing stream of students has proceeded from Latin America to the North. Instead of sending their sons to European schools to be educated, Latin-American fathers have sometimes sent them to schools and colleges in the United States, especially to study agriculture, engineering, and the mechanic arts. More than one Latin-American government has paid regular stipends to young men who were studying agriculture, engineering, medicine, veterinary science, and educational methods in United States colleges or universities. Various universities in the United States now offer scholarships or fellowships to students from Latin America. In spite of inherent difficulties, an arrangement for the exchange of professors has recently been perfected between the University of Chile and the University of California.

Activities of Scientists from the United States.—Among the trips made to South America by scientists of the United States that of Louis Agassiz is outstanding. In April, 1865, with some companions Agassiz left New York City for Rio de Janeiro. After reaching that capital he was aided by the

Brazilian government to make an expedition up the Amazon River in search of fish. The specimens which he collected, as well as the delightful journal written by his wife, are memorials of his investigations. In 1867-1868 Professor James Orton with a few companions journeyed by trail from Guayaquil to Quito, thence proceeded down the rivers Napo and Coca to the Amazon River, and then to Pará, being the first white men to make that trip since the days of Orellana. On his second trip in 1873 Orton proceeded from Pará up the Amazon and proceeded to Lake Titicaca where he made ethnographical collections. In 1880 Dr. Edwin R. Heath, a companion of Orton upon his last trip, proceeded down the river Beni to the mouth of the Madre de Dios River and went beyond to its junction with the Madeira. After this daring explorer a tributary of the Madre de Dios was named the Heath River. Professor Hiram Bingham of Yale University led an exploring expedition to South America in 1912, which unearthed the ruins of a remarkable Inca city at Machu Picchu.

The most interesting geographical reconnaissance which has been made by a citizen of the United States in Latin America was that of ex-President Theodore Roosevelt. Accompanied by some adventurous scientists in 1913 Roosevelt left the United States under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History. After Roosevelt's party arrived in Brazil, it was accorded generous coöperation by the government of that country. Under the direction of the famous Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, the expedition made a trip through the Brazilian wilderness to the Rio da Duvida. The Roosevelt-Rondon expedition discovered the course of a large, unknown river that flowed through five degrees of latitude, a river which the Brazilian government christened the Rio Roosevelt. Lastly, notice must be taken of the sanitary activities of the Rockefeller Foundation directed against insidious diseases in the tropics from Central America to Peru. The splendid results of its labors in Ecuador promise that in the near future the terrible scourge of yellow fever will be banished forever from the New World.

Pan-Americanism.—During the century of independent life which the Latin-American states have enjoyed, Pan-

Americanism—meaning by that a tendency shown by independent nations of America to associate themselves—has made significant progress. In Latin America, as indicated in the preceding chapter, that spirit originated during the struggles for independence. An early apostle of Pan-Americanism in the United States was Henry Clay. His most significant remarks were made in Congress on May 10, 1820, when he expressed the opinion that the United States might create a system in which she would be the center and in which South America would act with her. The United States, he declared, could “become the center of a system” that would serve as a counterpoise to “the despotism of the Old World.”

The great advocate of Pan-Americanism in the United States during the nineteenth century, however, was James G. Blaine. On November 29, 1881, Blaine, who was secretary of state under President Garfield, issued an invitation to the independent states of North and South America to send delegates to a congress to be held in Washington for the purpose of considering “the methods of preventing war” between American nations. Several Latin-American nations accepted that invitation, but the assassination of President Garfield was followed by the withdrawal of the invitation by Secretary Frelinghuysen. Still the project of a Pan-American conference was not altogether discarded. In accordance with a law enacted in May, 1888, Secretary Bayard issued invitations to the independent nations of Latin America and also to Haiti to send delegates to a conference which should assemble at Washington in October, 1889. Among the subjects which were mentioned by Bayard as topics for consideration by the conference were arbitration, reciprocity, transportation, and a common system of coinage. The Latin-American states sent to that conference men who had attained prominence as scholars, lawyers, and statesmen. By a fortunate chance Blaine had become secretary of state under President Harrison, when on October 2, 1889, delegates of the independent nations of America gathered at Washington.

The First Pan-American Conference.—Secretary Blaine presided over the First Pan-American Conference, which used Bayard’s invitations as its programme. In respect to the improvement of commercial intercourse among American na-

tions a committee which considered the proposal for an American Zollverein reported in favor of the negotiation of a series of reciprocity treaties. Members of the Conference approved a project for the completion of the so-called Pan-American railway. They framed treaties concerning copyrights, patents, and trademarks. The delegates eventually approved a convention which declared that the nations represented should adopt arbitration "as a principle of American international law" for the adjustment of their disputes. This convention, like other conventions approved by the delegates, was merely in the nature of a recommendation to the respective nations which were represented at the Conference. Unfortunately it was not carried out. Yet a recommendation that there should be established at Washington a bureau of information for all the American republics was sanctioned by them. Those republics appropriated money for the support of that organization. The International Bureau of American Republics was thus brought into existence.

Succeeding Pan-American Conferences.—The Second International American Conference was held at Mexico City in 1901-1902. Again the delegates agreed to a series of conventions, which partook of the nature of recommendations to the states participating in the conference. Almost all of the delegates signed a protocol of adherence to The Hague Convention of 1899 for the amicable adjustment of international disputes. Many delegates signed a treaty which provided for the arbitration of certain financial claims that could not be settled by diplomatic negotiations. The Third International American Conference met in 1906 at Rio de Janeiro. It unanimously adopted a resolution which recommended that the nations represented should instruct their delegates to the next Hague Conference to favor the adoption of a universal treaty of arbitration. Other conventions were adopted which concerned the codification of international law, the arbitration of financial claims, and the status of naturalized citizens who returned to their native land. The Fourth International American Conference assembled at Buenos Aires in 1910. It adopted an important resolution to the effect that the International Bureau of American Republics—thenceforth to be called the Pan-American Union—should be managed by a

board composed of the diplomatic envoys of the American republics to the United States and her secretary of state. That board was to select a director and a subdirector who were to manage the so-called union. The functions of this bureau were enlarged: it was to take charge of the records of the Pan-American conferences; it was to serve as the commission of those conferences, and was to promote the ratification of their treaties. Although some conventions adopted by these conferences have never been ratified by the American nations, yet the assemblages of diplomatic leaders of the Three Americas have encouraged a spirit of international comity. The Pan-American Union is now located in a beautiful structure at Washington.

The First Pan-American Scientific Congress.—Intellectual leaders of America have also stimulated the Pan-American spirit. As a result of the Latin-American Scientific Congresses a movement began for the assemblage of a Pan-American Scientific Congress. Invitations to the First Pan-American Scientific Congress were issued in 1907 by the president of the University of Chile. Members of that Congress met in Santiago de Chile in December, 1908, where many interesting papers were read concerning topics of common interest to the Three Americas. In December, 1915, the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress met at Washington. Delegates from the independent nations of America read to that Congress articles upon topics of mutual interest. That Congress was of special Pan-American significance because the President of the United States in a noteworthy address took occasion to develop certain ideas about the relations of the American nations.

President Wilson's Pan-American Monroe Doctrine.—

In his message to Congress on December 7, 1915, President Wilson said that the neutral policy which American nations had adopted toward the belligerent nations of Europe had made them more conscious of a community of interest. He declared that the United States still cherished the spirit of President Monroe; that she still meant to champion the "common cause of national independence and of political liberty in America"; but that all the independent American governments stood upon a footing of equality and independ-

ence. He declared that the American states were coöperating friends; that if they were united in purpose they could not be disappointed in their peaceful destiny. This, said he—with none of the spirit of Empire in it—was Pan-Americanism. The Wilson Doctrine, as it may be called, was reiterated by the President in an address to the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress on January 7, 1916. Although some adverse comment was made, yet, in general, his ideal of a Pan-American Monroe Doctrine was hailed with pleasure by editors of prominent newspapers in Rio de Janeiro, Lima, Santiago de Chile, and Buenos Aires.

The World War and "Continental Solidarity."—As elsewhere suggested the World War has brought the United States into closer relations with some countries of Latin America. More than one of the Latin-American nations that severed relations with Germany did so because of the identical issue which had forced the United States to declare war—Germany's ruthless submarine policy. In the discussions concerning the policy of their respective governments several Latin-American publicists laid such emphasis upon "continental solidarity" as to indicate that the crucial issue of the World War had stimulated the Pan-American spirit.

Effects of the World War on Commercial Intercourse.—The World War has also had a great influence upon commercial relations between the United States and Latin-American countries. After that war began an increase in the import trade of the United States with Latin-American countries took place; but this was accompanied by a decided decline in the total imports into those countries from the United States. Certain Latin-American countries, however, took a larger percentage of imports from the United States in 1915 and 1916 than they had taken in 1913. In 1916 the United States was supplying about 33 per cent of the total imports of South America, as compared with about 15 per cent in the year before the war. This apparent increase was partly due to the great advance in prices. During the fiscal year 1917 the aggregate trade of the United States with Latin-American countries swelled prodigiously. An increase of some sort was noticeable in the import and export trade of the United States with almost every country of Latin America. In 1917 the

United States exported to Latin-American countries domestic and foreign goods which amounted to \$577,367,238, while she imported from those countries products amounting to \$956,001,028. Because of the handicap imposed by war conditions the United States had far outstripped England, her keenest competitor for Latin-American trade. In 1920 the United States exported to Mexico, Central America, Cuba, and South America merchandise amounting to \$1,433,322,663, while she imported from those regions produce aggregating \$1,729,616,348.

Pan-American Financial Sentiment.—Soon after the outbreak of the War, certain statesmen felt the necessity of promoting closer commercial and fiscal relations among the nations of America. In accordance with a law of March 4, 1915, Secretary of State Bryan invited each of the nations of Latin America—except Mexico—to send delegates to a conference which should assemble in the United States to consider problems of banking, transportation, and commerce between the countries represented.

Pan-American Financial Conferences.—On May 24, 1915, the First Pan-American Financial Conference met at Washington. That Conference, which was composed of from one to three delegates from seventeen Latin-American nations, besides representatives of Haiti and the United States, conducted its business through a series of committee meetings. A special committee was appointed to consider each Latin-American state. Two general committees were selected to consider the improvement of commercial relations between the United States and Latin-American countries. One general committee made reports concerning international American polity which were aimed to improve transportation facilities between the United States and the states of South and Central America. The other general committee recommended the establishment of an Inter-American High Commission to promote the uniformity of commercial laws among American nations. A commission of that type, composed of jurists and financiers representing each American nation, was subsequently organized. A report of the activities of that commission was laid before the Second Pan-American Financial Conference which met at Washington. On January 23, 1920,

this Conference, which was made up of delegates from nineteen American republics including Mexico, adopted a series of resolutions that aimed to improve commercial and fiscal relations among the American republics.

Problems of Reconstruction.—With the close of the World War, some problems which confronted merchants and manufacturers in the United States concerning European competition for Latin-American trade have arisen again. It remains to be seen to what extent the United States can retain the hold which she secured upon that commerce during the War. For a time at least she will control a much larger percentage of the import and export trade than before. As aids in the strife for markets, through the Webb Act merchants in the United States have secured legislation which permits the formation of combinations to promote foreign trade, under the Federal Reserve Act a number of branches of national banks have been planted in Latin America, and partly through the instrumentality of the department of commerce the technic of the trade has been improved. The Inter-American High Commission—of which the United States Secretary of Commerce now acts as chairman—has undertaken to serve as an advisory body about commercial and financial matters to independent American governments. To what extent the development of United States commerce with Latin America will be affected by the process of reconstruction in Europe which is diverting capital from America is a matter for interesting speculation. Disturbance of the economic equilibrium resulting from the World War has provoked some tantalizing fluctuations of international exchange which, because of the great financial strength of the United States, are affecting the commerce of the United States with Latin-American countries unfavorably. A high rate of exchange between most Latin-American countries and the United States tends to hamper trade, while the low rate of exchange between those countries and Europe encourages commercial intercourse with England, France, and Germany.

American Nations at the Peace Conference.—Diplomatic concomitants of the World War have raised a question about the future relations of Latin-American peoples to the United States and also about their relations to the leading

powers of Europe. For the first time in history certain Latin-American nations, as well as the United States, were represented in a conference of nations which was held at the conclusion of a War. When the Peace Conference assembled at Paris on January 18, 1919, provision was made for the attendance of diplomatic representatives of several nations of Latin America. As members of the group known as the Allied and Associated Powers, representatives of Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, and Uruguay, besides Haiti and the United States, signed the Treaty of Versailles. The Latin-American states were represented upon the commission of Associated Nations that formulated the Covenant of the League of Nations by Eitacio Pessoa of Brazil, while the United States was represented by Edward M. House and President Wilson. Latin-American nations that through their representatives signed the treaty of peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany also subscribed the Covenant of the League of Nations, which was an integral part of the treaty. An annex to the Covenant provided that other states were invited to join the League. Among those states were the Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, Salvador, and Venezuela. The accession of such a state was to become effective by the filing with the secretariat of the League within two months after the Covenant went into force a declaration that it had been accepted without reservations. For some reason or other, Costa Rica, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic were not invited to join the League of Nations.

American Nations and the Treaty of Versailles.—The Treaty of Peace with Germany was signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919. The date originally set for the Treaty of Versailles to become effective was the anniversary of the signing of the Armistice between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany. Because of a delay in the ratification of that treaty by the United States—which was caused by the debate over ratification with reservations in the Senate—the date set for it to become operative was postponed. Finally, on January 10, 1920, a *procès verbal* was signed at Paris by the representatives of certain nations that had been parties to the Treaty of Versailles. Of the American nations

which had subscribed that treaty only Bolivia, Brazil, Guatemala, Panama, Peru, and Uruguay signed the *procès verbal*. As soon as this was signed, the president of the interallied Peace Conference sent a note to the nations designated in the annex to the original covenant to inform them that the Treaty of Versailles had gone into force. Although that treaty failed of ratification in the United States Senate, yet every nation of Latin America which signed it, except—at present writing—Ecuador, subsequently signified her accession to the Covenant of the League of Nations. Each of the Latin-American nations which was invited to join the League filed its acceptance within the specified time. Outside of the League there remain at present among American nations the United States and Ecuador, which were original signatories of the covenant, and Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico, which have not been vouchsafed an opportunity to join.

The League of Nations.—The refusal of the United States Senate to ratify the Covenant of the League of Nations with or without reservations has raised some significant and tantalizing problems. Article XXI of the Covenant stipulates that nothing therein should be considered as having affected the validity of regional understandings to secure the maintenance of peace, such as the Monroe Doctrine. In the resolution of ratification which was proposed in the United States Senate on November 19, 1919, and again in the resolution proposed on March 19, 1920, a clause was included stipulating that the United States would not submit any questions to the consideration of the League of Nations which in her judgment involved the Monroe Doctrine. Although the Treaty of Versailles was not ratified by the Senate even with reservations, yet this clause indicates the attitude of many citizens of the United States toward the declarations of the Covenant of the League of Nations about her traditional American policy. Some publicists of the United States wished to see the Covenant ratified with such reservations as would leave their nation free to pursue her foreign policy untrammelled. Other statesmen did not wish to see that Covenant ratified at all. Even if the United States should ultimately join a modified League of Nations, the Monroe

Doctrine will evidently be no less subject than previously to misunderstandings and misinterpretations. Such a prospect appears certain, if the United States should remain outside the pale of the League.

Future Rôle of the United States.—Serious complications may arise concerning the rôle of the League of Nations in the Three Americas. Important states of Spanish and Portuguese America have acceded to the Covenant of the League which to an extent embodies their old-time yearning for an international association for the preservation of peace. Some of those states, notably Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, and Venezuela, were represented at the first Assembly of the League which met in December, 1920, on the shores of Lake Geneva. Although the delegates of Argentina led by her secretary of foreign relations, Honorio Pueyrredón, withdrew from that Assembly because their projected amendments to the League's Constitution—including a proposal that all sovereign states should be conceded membership in the League—were not at once accepted, yet other prominent Latin-American nations retained their representation in that international association. As already indicated, its Constitution provides that the validity of the Monroe Doctrine shall not be questioned. Yet, as the Covenant of the League expressly stipulates that controversies among members shall be settled by its Council, the grave problem may arise as to whether or not the United States will relinquish the cardinal principle of her foreign policy so far as to allow an association of nations to which she does not belong to adjust controversies among the nations of Latin America. Certain Latin-American publicists evidently favor acknowledging the jurisdiction of the tribunal at Geneva rather than the hegemony of the Republic of the North. The future rôle of the United States in the New World seems to be at stake.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING AND STUDY

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AIDS

Lists of books for further reading and study will sometimes be found in works cited under the suggested readings for the respective chapters. In addition, the following articles or books will be found particularly helpful as guides to the literature dealing with Latin-American history. COX, I. J., O'HARA, J. F., and SCHUYLER, L. R., "Syllabi of Courses: the History of Hispanic America," in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. ii, pp. 419-446. These syllabi furnish lists of references which are especially useful to teachers. COESTER, A. L., "A Bibliography of Spanish-American Literature," in the *Romanic Review*, vol. iii, pp. 68-101, which is supplementary to his list in *The Literary History of Spanish America* (New York, 1916), pp. 477-482. GOLDSMITH, P. H., *A Brief Bibliography of the Books in English, Spanish, and Portuguese Relating to the Republics Commonly Called Latin American, with Comments* (New York, 1915). This contains critical estimates of a select list of books. HOSKINS, H. L., *Guide to Latin-American History* (Boston, 1922), is a detailed syllabus which contains references for readings, suggestions for outline maps, and a classified bibliography. JONES, C. K., "Hispanic American Bibliographies," in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. iii, pp. 414-442, 603-634, and vol. iv, pp. 126-156, 297-324, 522-552, 783-813. These are very useful lists by an expert bibliographer. KENISTON, H., *List of Works for the Study of Hispanic-American History* (New York, 1920). This work contains lists of bibliographies as well as titles of books on individual countries and on certain topics; it is indispensable to students of the colonial period of Latin-American history. OLIVEIRA LIMA, M. DE, *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with That of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America, Edited with Introduction and Notes by Percy Alvin Martin* (Stanford University, 1914). This suggestive series of lectures is equipped with helpful bibliographical notes. A serviceable list of books is found in, Pan-American Union, *List of Latin-American History and Description in the Columbus Memorial Library* (Washington, 1907), which has been supplemented by subsequent lists. PIERSON, W. W., *A Syllabus of Latin-American History* (Durham, 1917), furnishes references useful to teachers, which are supplemented by his syllabus mentioned under chapter vii. See also SCHUYLER, W. R., "Tentative Syllabus of Hispanic-American History Adapted to High School Use," in *Proceedings of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland*, 1918, pp. 21-30. Biblio-

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CHAPTER I

THE ENVIRONMENT

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CHAPTER II

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CHAPTER III

DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST

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FROM EMPIRE TO REPUBLIC IN BRAZIL

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CHAPTER XVII

CUBA, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, AND THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS

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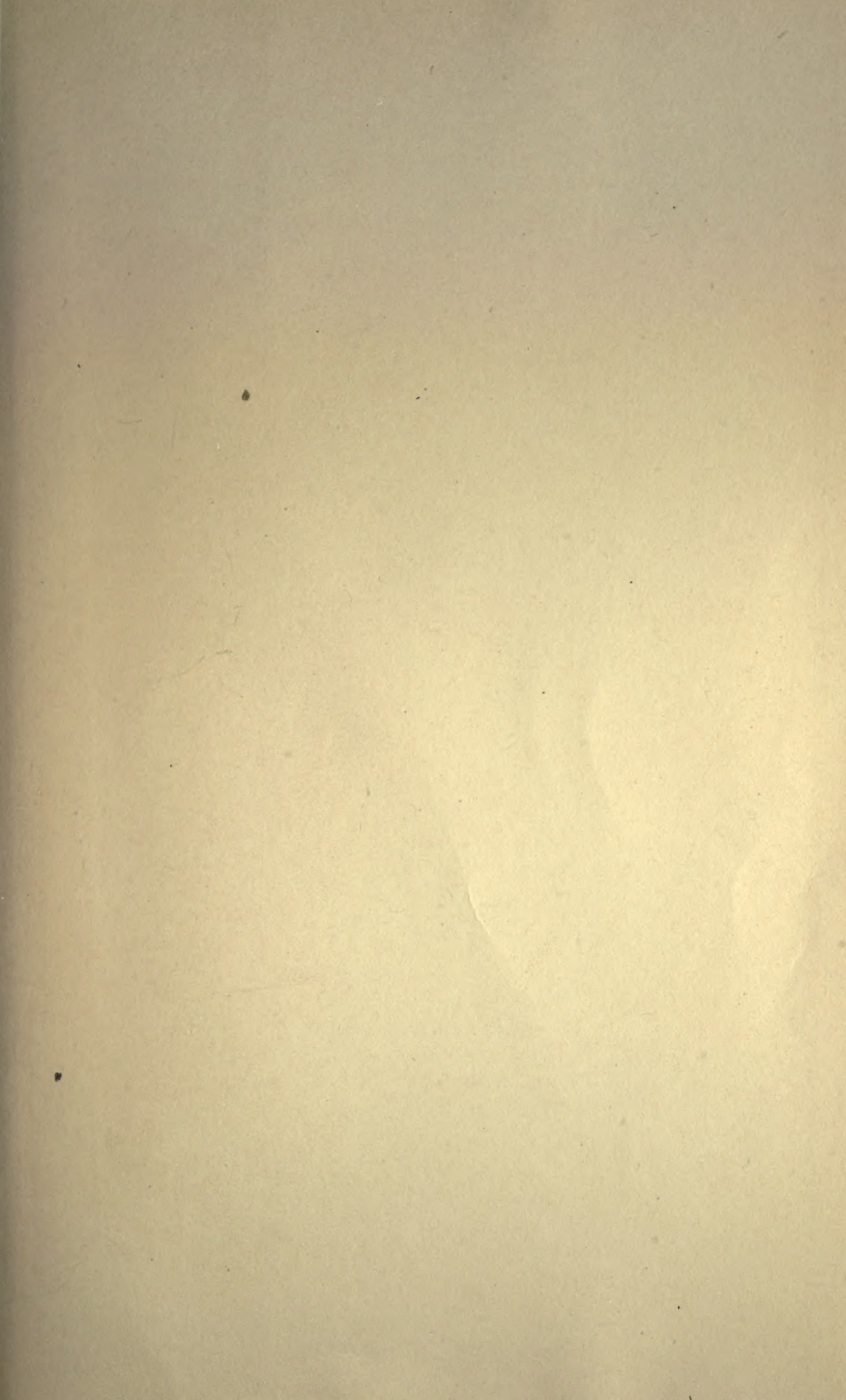
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